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RHYTHM AND WORD-ORDER

IN

ANGLO-SAXON AND SEMI-SAXON

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT

IN MODERN ENGLISH.

BY

AUGUST DAHLSTEDT
LICENTIATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

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GENERAL

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Boe. = King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, ed. S. Fox. London 1895.

Ma. = The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, ed. W. Skeat, Cambridge 1887.

Man. = Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy, ed. Th. Wright. Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English. London 1841.

OEH = Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, I, II, ed. R. Morris, London 1868, 1873. First Series: 1 = Ch. I—V, VII, VIII, XI—XVII; 2 = Ch. IX, X, XXIV; 3 = Ch. XIX, XXI—XXIII; 4 = Ch. XXV—XXVII; 5 = Ch. XXVIII; 6 = Ch. XXIX. Second Series: 7 = all the chapters except the following; 8 = Ch. IV, XXV, XXVI, XXX, XXXII.

OETs = The Oldest English Texts, ed. H. Sweet, London 1885.

PD = Peri Didaxeon, ed. O. Cockayne. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early English, III. 1866.

Wu. = Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien I, ed. A. Napier, Berlin 1883.

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Introduction.

As is shown by the list of works consulted, the subject of the Order of words has been repeatedly examined. But several of these examinations are held in a general tone (Jespersen, Jacobi[1], Bergaigne, Weil, Hermann), some limit themselves to a certain language and a special part of the order of words without entering into details (Lang, Herzog, Mogk, Behaghel, Goodell, Jacobi[2], Einenkel), or treat of our subject only cursorily (Western, Kellner, Gorrel, Erdmann, Cordes, Rannow). The others (Kube, McKnight, Ries, Tomanetz, Schulze[1, 2], Smith, Ohly, Todt, Wackernagel[1, 2], Löhner) are regular monographies, but only four of them (Kube, McKnight, Smith, Todt) concern the English order of words. Todt's inquiries into the order of words in Beowulf cannot be of any real value for the study of the prose order of words. Moreover, the case is much the same with Kube's examination, for his complete want of statistics leaves us in uncertainty as to the proportions of the different types. But these proportions we must know before we can distinguish the most important influences to which the order of words is subject.

But even those who offer us the most scrupulous statistics (Hermann, Gorrel, McKnight, Ries, Schulze[1], Smith, Ohly, Todt) have not discovered and shown us the whole of

the forces at work upon the Old Teutonic order of words. *Firstly*, they have not sufficiently sifted their examples. We cannot content ourselves with knowing how many examples follow this type or that. The different types ought to be compared with each other only when, apart from their diversity in structure, they offer the greatest possible resemblance in form and meaning. Only then will the statistics help us to discover the real superiority of one of the types to the other(s), and, perhaps, the cause of this. For if we find the types diversely distributed among the groups, we can often infer that the cause of the type-variation is to be found in the difference between the groups; or if not, we shall be better enabled to discover the true cause by comparing, in each group respectively, the proportions between the types and by studying the examples more closely. No one of the authors cited above, except Todt and perhaps McKnight, has made any due allowance for the influence of the subject, or the verb-modifier itself, upon its position though they appreciate the importance of the verb and the sentence. On the other hand, we occasionally find them make distinctions which are of no use whatever; for instance, when Ohly gives us the statistics of clauses with the *same* order of words but introduced by different interrogative words (I I III Der selbständige Fragesatz), or when Schulze[1] makes a most detailed division of introductory verb-modifiers (γ, $\gamma\alpha$, $\gamma\alpha^1$ p. 18). There must be a certain restriction in dividing the material into groups, for otherwise the figures obtained in each group will be so small that we shall not be able to conclude anything from them (see below and pp. 29—30).

Secondly, all figures given in the statistics have been used indiscriminately. It is clear enough that *two small* numbers representing two different types in a certain group,

tell us next to nothing, except when they can be brought into connection with other ratios, less or greater, and supported by these. Consequently, a small text will not give us such reliable statistics as a large one. Of my texts, only OETs, Man., PD, AT, and some smaller portions of OEH (referred to in the following tables and discussions by the figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8) comprise less than 50 pages in 8:o. Each of the former contains about 20 pages, 2 as many as 24, and 8, 19 pages; 3, 4, 5, and 6, vary between 8 and 12 pages. Boe. has about 135 closely printed pages (= about 200 common), Ma. (i. e. each of the three texts of this gospel, the two Anglo-Saxon ones used in my extracts being counted as a single text) about 66 common pages, AG about 300, corresponding to 60, Wu. about 300, corresponding to about 250 common pages (of which nearly 200 have been used for my purpose), the two great portions of OEH about 50 and 100 pages respectively; in all, about 840 pages in 8:o of Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon texts.

Thirdly, in order to examine the order of words, poetical texts (Beowulf, Hêliand, Parzival, Otfrid) have sometimes been chosen though they cannot give us any very deep insight into the prose order of words. Moreover, in these texts a variety of influences and points of view will present themselves, which cannot but add to the intricacy of the whole question. Thus, Ries and his followers Schulze and Ohly must distinguish between logical, stilistic-rhetoric-syntactical, and rhythmic-metrical influences. But difficult as it is to draw distinct limits between different categories of words, phrases, and stress, the distinctions of stilistic-rhetorical and metrical reasons must often be still more arbitrary. Hence a reliable statistic system cannot be founded by keeping all these points of view. Besides, the more divisions, the smaller figures — an inconvenience to be avoided as much as

possible. If, then, by carefully choosing the texts, we can eliminate some of the distinctions mentioned above, we shall simplify the matter. The prose order of words must be known before we study the poetical, though of course the latter contains traces of a still older prose construction. My texts are only prose texts. I have even avoided those Anglo-Saxon and Midde-English prose texts called alliterative (Ælfrics Lives of Saints, Seinte Marherete, Seinte Juliane, Hali Meidenhad, Alcuini Interrogationes Sigewulfi Presbyteri in Genesin), not because alliteration in itself would imply changing of the common word-order, but because alliteration is the mark of a poetic, elevated, archaical style, not so well suited for examination in this respect. On the contrary, the texts I have chosen present a simple, natural prose, perhaps inferior to that of other texts (e. g. Wulfstan's Homilies compared with Ælfric's), but just on that account giving us a more accurate idea of the *contemporary* prose language. Besides, they represent several styles, from the dry, unaffected language of a manual (Man., AG, PD) to the more vivid and emphatic one of homilies (Wu., OEH, occasionally alliterative), from the perhaps somewhat crystallized periods of documents (OETs) and a gospel (Ma.) to those more individual and daring of a philosophical treatise (Boe.), or a novel (AT). I therefore hope I need not deal with the stilistic or the rhetoric influences so scrupulously as with the others, though, of course, the frequency of a certain type is occasionally to be accounted for by the aid of one of these reasons. But then I shall simply put it down as the characteristic of that peculiar text. — There is still another influence which, in examinations of this kind, must often be reckoned with, viz. the influence of the language of a *Latin* original. Not less than six of our texts can be traced back to Latin sources. However, the

translation of *Boethius* seems to be quite independent of the original as to the form (ten Brink I, p. 99: "Fehlen im englischen Boetius auch Einschaltungen von so augenfälliger Bedeutung, wie sie das erste Capitel des Orosius enthält, die Bearbeitung im Ganzen ist hier fast noch origineller als dort zu nennen. Gleich zu Anfang zieht Alfred zusammen und versetzt die ursprüngliche Ordnung der Einzelheiten. Ganze Abschnitte lässt er aus. Überall, wo sich die Gelegenheit bietet, giebt er den Gedanken des Römers einen entschiedener christlichen Ausdruck — — — Häufig — und dies ist das wichtigste — überlässt er sich dem Strom der Gedanken, die ein Wort des Boetius bei ihm angeregt hat, und schreibt aus eigener Erfahrung und aus eigenem Herzen".) The fifth book especially is equal to an independent work, and the whole gives us a high idea of Alfred's skill in translation (see R. W. Wülker: Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur, Leipzig 1885; G. Schepfs: Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius' im Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, vol. 94, p. 149—160). The two texts of the gospel of *Matthew* exhibit at least a freedom of arrangement far superior to that of interlinear versions (such as the Lindisfarne Gloss, with which is closely connected the Rushworth Gloss, both forming the text of the right-hand pages in Skeat's edition), The older of these texts dates from about A. D. 1000, and, with respect to the word-order, varies very little from the younger. The Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy is a kind of revision of some Latin treatises of Bede's (De temporum ratione, De temporibus, De natura rerum) made by Ælfric (ten Brink I p. 136, Cockayne III, p. XIX). Ælfric's Grammar is a translation, or rather, a collection of excerpts from Priscianus' Institutiones grammaticæ (ten Brink I p. 135, Cockayne III, p. XXII). Ælfric's fame as the author of Ho-

miliæ catholicæ, written somewhat earlier, is, however, a perfect warranty that in neither of these books did he proceed to his work like a slavish translator. Besides, it was his chief aim, as it had been King Alfred's before him, to educate his countrymen, an aim which is not very compatible with the interests, of a linguistic amateur. Peri Didaxeon is, according to ten Brink, to be considered not a direct translation from the Latin, but rather a copy or a revision of an older Anglo-Saxon original. Apollonius of Tyre is a fragment going back to a Latin version of a Byzantine novel, but, as ten Brink (I p. 146) asserts, translated into fluent English. As for the Old English Homilies, some of them (i. e. the contents of the Lambeth Ms 487, forming in my examination the text 1, except chapters IX and X, which, together with chapter XXIV, are called 2) are a compilation from various sources of the XI century (Morris I, pp. V, XI); three of them are mere transliterations of Ælfric's Homilies (= the text 2 corresponding to Chapters I, XXII in Thorpe's edition and the Appendix II pp. 296—304 in Morris I). Another small portion (from Cotton MS Nero A XIV, which also contains the Ancren Riwle, a portion here referred to by the figure 3) shows in its language peculiarities belonging to the Ancren Riwle, and is written somewhat later than the Homilies of the Lambeth MS. The fourth portion (= Cotton MS Vespasian A 22, except chapter XXIV = our text 4) is partly of Ælfric's style; the fifth (from the Bodleian MS 34, = our text 5) and the sixth (from the Cotton MS Titus D 18 = our text 6) are likely to have had the same author as the Ancren Riwle, The Meidenhad, The Lives of S:t Juliana, S:t Marherete, and S:t Katherine, perhaps also as the third portion of Old English Homilies already mentioned (see Morris I pp. VII, X, XI, and his Specimens of Early English, I pp. 87, 124);

the sixth portion in its *present* state is a paraphrase of a passage of the seventh part of the Ancren Riwle, and consequently stands a little apart from the fifth portion and the works just mentioned (see Morris I, pp. LI, LII, where he puts down the dialect as a *West Midland* one with some *Northern* peculiarities). In contrast with the Homilies from the Lambeth MS, those printed in Vol. II from the Trinity College MS. B 14. 15 cannot be proved to be modernizations of older homilies; there is, however, some ground for deriving them from the *Latin*, and, as five of them are also to be found in the Lambeth MS, partly from *English* originals. The dialect is *Southern* (with *East Midland* peculiarities; see Morris II, pp. VII, IX, XII and his Specimens I, p. 26; these homilies are, in my examination, referred to by the figure 7, except the five just mentioned = the text 8), which is also the dialect of the *other* portions, except the sixth and perhaps the third (see Morris I, pp. VIII, XVIII and Specimens p. 87). — In short, most of our texts can be traced back to Latin originals, some of them are modernizations of older vernacular texts. But, knowing the high development of Anglo-Saxon, shown by the purely national literature (Beowulf, The Saxon Chronicle, The Laws, etc.), the skilfulness of the Anglo-Saxon translators (see also Smith, The Order of Words; Sweet, Cura Pastoralis, introduction), and their aim, we need not, as a rule, make allowance for the structure of the corresponding Latin or Greek periods (as McKnight has done in his examination of the Gothic, and Rannow, Tomanetz, and Löhner in theirs of the Old High German word-order). All my examples, whether corresponding to those of foreign, or vernacular, originals or not, will be mixed and treated on the same level.

Fourthly, the ratios have not been brought into connection with each other with any consequence. If, for instance, we find in some text the following ratios for two types:

Principal clauses		Subordinate clauses	
with a long modifier	with a short modifier	with a long modifier	with a short modifier
1 : 10	1 : 1	1 : 2	5 : 1

we may infer 1) that *short* modifiers are treated differently from *long* ones, 2) that in subordinate clauses both kinds of modifiers, though retaining the same *relative* proportion, are treated differently from those of the principal clauses. If the ratios of the subordinate clauses of another text are 1 : 5, 2 : 1, we conclude 3) that in this text the difference existing between the two kinds of clauses are gradually giving way (provided that the ratios of the principal clauses are those of the first text). If in a third text these ratios were 1 : 5, 5 : 1, it would suggest 4) that the demolition of the old distinctions between the two kinds of clauses began with clauses containing *long* modifiers; and so on.

Fifthly, in previous inquiries into the word-order, the authors have, as a rule, contented themselves with establishing the *relative* position of two kinds of words or phrases, e. g. the positions subject—finite verb, finite verb—infinite verb, verb—modifier, modifier—modifier (as far as I remember, only Kube, Todt, and Sweet have short references to the last position). It is obvious that these points of view must be so many chapters, or sections, in which the word-order is to be studied. About the clause as *a whole* we find next to nothing. At the most, occasional references are made to clauses with several modifiers, where the finite verb is more likely to retreat from the end

of the clause. Todt has made the following arrangement of his material: the verb may stand a) at the beginning, b) after the first member, c) after several members, d) at the end. The last group does not, however, comprise clauses with real end-position only, but also clauses with verb followed by a *mere dependency*, i. e. a member not so closely connected with the verb as an accusative object, a prepositional or adverbial phrase answering to the question *whither?* Besides, to this unsatisfactory distinction between *mere verb-dependencies* and *real verb-complements*, we might oppose the view that unless the position of the verb-modifier itself is brought under discussion — which is obviously not the intention of Todt as he completely disregards the former kind —, we have nothing to do here with such a distinction. What is necessary, is to draw the limits between the modifier of a verb and that of another word, or between the modifier of the *first*, and that of a *second* or *third* degree. Sometimes we must (for reasons mentioned below) give up even this distinction. Further, Todt has made a distinction between auxiliaries of tense and auxiliaries of mood; I think it sufficient and more to the purpose to establish the distinction between different kinds of infinite verbs, for it is the different infinite moods of any verb which are subject to various relations with the central member, i. e. the finite verb itself. — McKnight has treated on the same level introductory modifiers and modifiers placed between the subject and the finite verb, and given both kinds of word-order the name of 'transposed order' (pp. 190, 202). This is only confusing two things which are, at least in most cases, essentially different (see p. 35). Further, he makes no allowance for the presence or absence of a subject, and the number of dependencies, for he speaks only about *transposed order* (= subject — one modifier or more — fin. verb,

or modifier—subject(—modifier)—verb, or modifier—verb), *partially transposed order* (= subject—modifier—verb—modifier, or modifier—subject(—modifier)—verb—modifier, or modifier—verb—modifier, etc.), and *neutral order* (= subj.—verb). Of course it is of no use whatever comparing the figures for these positions. The clauses must be roughly grouped according to their *length* (i. e. structure) also, e. g., clauses 1) with no modifiers after the subject or verb, 2) with one modifier, 3) two, and 4) several modifiers of this kind. Each of these may then be divided into clauses with, and clauses without a subject; clauses with, and without infinite verbs, etc. This is the only way of studying the clause as a *whole*.

Partly, then, because of the limited material (the only prose-texts examined statistically, if we except Gorrels treatise, are Orosius, Ælfric's Homilies, and two laws), partly because of the incomplete state of the previous statistics, and the unsatisfactory way in which they have been arranged and utilized, we do not learn from the previous inquiries very much of the Anglo-Saxon word-order. Indeed Hermann complains (1896) of the difficulty in utilizing the material to be disposed of, on account of the various schemes adopted. Since then McKnight has made his inquiries. He says in his treatise (1897) p. 140: "To determine the principles of accentuation, then, is necessary before one can understand the influence of the principle of emphasis on word-order. *This has not yet been satisfactorily done.* In making such a determination, the unit of language considered must be, not the logical unit, the sentence, but the spoken unit, the breath group. At present we know only that the accentuation is different in different kinds of clauses — the interrogative clauses differing in this respect from the affirmative clause —, and that

different languages have peculiar modes of accentuation — — — — —. All that we can say at present about the influence of emphasis on word-order, is that the emphasis of any position is not an absolute but a relative one, depending on the language, on the kind of clause, and on the number of unemphatic words surrounding the position". I will now sum up the opinions hitherto pronounced on Anglo-Saxon (or Old Teutonic) word-order: (As for the Teutonic in general, see pp. 42—44).

1) Inversion of a subject occurs very often in a principal clause, but is rare in a subordinate one, because other introductory words than conjunctions, relative, and interrogative words are rarely put before the subject and finite verb (Kube, Einenkel, Smith, McKnight). It is principally *þa* that causes inversion; but even other adverbs of time and those of place are thus construed. Otherwise there is a great fluctuation (e. g. after *her*, or a dative- or accusative-object). We occasionally find inversion after *and* (Kube can give no explanation of this phenomenon, except in the special case when a finite verb is followed by several subjects), seldom after a subordinate clause not followed by an anaphoric word (Einenkel, Smith) [1]). Inversion may depend on the kind of connection with the introductory word: when there is a pause between this word and the following clause, the order becomes normal, otherwise it is inverted (Smith; so in Orosius); or in other words: when the introductory member determines the *verb exclusively*, this is drawn next to it; when it determines the whole clause, the order is not affected (Kube; also Ries and McKnight); inversion indicates also the emphasizing of the introductory word (Smith; so in Ælfric's Homilies). Inversion without

[1]) On the other hand, there is some tendency to avoid inversion in a clause co-ordinated with a preceding inverted clause (Kube).

introductory word may be a token of hypotaxis (Ries, Ohly, Smith), or may be developed in analogy with the inversion after such words (Starker); rhythmic-metrical reasons are unessential (Todt). "The phenomenon of inversion is difficult of explanation — — — We have not statistics enough to trace the development of inversion" (McKnight, pp. 214, 216). The negation *ne* promotes inversion (Ries, Todt). An auxiliary is more often inverted than another verb (Ries, Todt). The first place in the clause is emphasized (Ries, Kube, Smith), but need not be so; emphasis is generally to be found at the end (Kube, McKnight).

2) The relative arrangement of finite and infinite verb seems to depend on the nature of these and of the clause: in principal clauses the infinite verb generally stands after the finite (Beowulf, Saxon Chronicle, Cura Past.), especially so in clauses with inverted subject (Saxon Chronicle); in subordinate clauses it is most often met with before the finite verb (Beowulf, Orosius, Ælfric's Homilies), except in final, consecutive, causal clauses (Saxon Chronicle) and in substantive-clauses (Beowulf), and more especially in indirect discourse, where the position more resembles that of principal clauses (Orosius, Bede, Cura Past. [1]), Boethius, Blickl. Homilies. Lives of Saints, Wulfstan, Ælfric's Homilies, Gospels); the infinitive is relatively more often placed after a finite stress-verb than after an auxiliary of mood (Beowulf, Saxon Chronicle); the infinitive in principal clauses being somewhat superior to the past participle in the position *before* the finite verb, is, on the contrary, somewhat inferior to it in this respect (i. e. stands more often after a finite verb than the past participle does) in subordinate clauses (Beowulf; The laws, for which, however,

[1]) In this text, however, the end-position of the infinitive is strikingly frequent in subordinate clauses in general.

McKnight gives us the statistics only of infinite forms in subordinate clauses; in Cura Past. both forms are, as a rule, placed after the finite verb).

3) As for the position of the modifier with relation to the finite verb, a single adverb expressing definite or indefinite time, or a single substantive, as an accusative- or genitive-object, stands before or after the verb (the dative after, in Saxon Chronicle; before, in Orosius; indifferently before or after the verb, in Ælfric's Homilies), and, in general, two or several members most often after the finite verb in principal clauses without inversion; a personal pronoun is generally placed before this verb. In all these cases the modifier *follows* the subject in principal clauses with inversion; the personal pronoun, however, has also its position before the verb; or between it and the subject. In subordinate clauses the modifier is generally put before the finite verb, except in final, consecutive (Saxon Chronicle), causal clauses (Saxon Chronicle, The Laws), and indirect discourse (in Anglo-Saxon in general [1]), esp. Saxon Chronicle, Orosius, Ælfric's Homilies); at all events, the tendency of the finite verb to end-position (in the meaning in which Todt takes this word) is greater than in principal clauses (Beowulf); conditional clauses, especially, distinguish themselves by their decided 'transposed' or 'partly transposed' (i. e. subj.—mod.—v. or subj.—mod.—v.—mod.) arrangement (The law of Cnut; these clauses, together with the substantive clauses, afford by their numerous examples the best conclusions, but in the law of Alfred there is no obvious difference between them as to the position of the modifier).

[1]) According to Gorrel, indirect declarative clauses more resemble in this respect the principal; indirect interrogative, more the subordinate clauses: according to Smith, the indirect interrogative are distinct also from indirect imperative clauses as to word-order.

A stress-verb stands relatively more often at the end than does an auxiliary (Beowulf, Saxon Chronicle, Cura Past.). Lastly, there is from older to later times a tendency to level subordinate and principal clauses (Gorrel, Smith, Todt; in Saxon Chronicle the position fluctuates, in Cura Past. it is decidedly a 'normal' one). — The end-position of the finite verb in principal clauses is perhaps influenced by Latin; but otherwise it may be due to the analogy with clauses containing a personal pronoun, or with subordinate clauses (Smith). This position is especially to be found after *and* (Cura Past.; Todt, Sweet). The end-position of the modifier in subordinate clauses is, in some measure, promoted by another subordinate clause determining the modifier. Two or more modifiers show a tendency to take the finite verb between them (Smith).

4) A modifier may be placed between the finite and the infinite verb (Saxon Chronicle).

5) The dative precedes the accusative when both are objects, and an object, or an adverb, goes before a prepositional phrase. We also generally find an expression of time before an expression of place when both are separated (then the former is introductory), a *short* modifier before a *long* one. In other respects there seem to be no fixed rules as to the relative position of verb-modifiers (Saxon Chronicle, Orosius, Ælfric's Homilies).

What we miss, then, is: in 1), an account of the influence of the subject itself and the clause as a whole (i. e. the consideration of verb, tense, and following modifiers), in 3), an account of the influence of the subject and the number of modifiers, and in 5), of the influence of the verb on the relative position of the modifiers. As for infinite verbs, the points 2) and 4) are sometimes confused with each other, so that we get no clear idea of the real position of this

verb (e. g. in principal clauses in Saxon Chronicle, Cura Pastoralis, and the Laws). In short, the consideration of the clause as a *whole*, i. e. *the rhythmical consideration*, is underrated. On the other hand, many different questions have been brought forward which, undoubtedly, must not be omitted in studying word-order in detail, but which will only confuse arrangements when made on a large scale. Some of these, however, demand a better sifting of the examples (the influence of *and*, *ne;* that of a clause or any determination following a modifier and emphasizing it); others may be dispensed with by carefully choosing the texts (the purely metrical influence), or by collecting the examples into considerable groups and utilizing the statistics only within certain limits (stilistic considerations, e. g. 'broken order', 'cross-order', 'tag-sentences', Sweet), or, finally, by suffering the different ratios between two types in different texts to gives us an idea of the influence in question (for instance, in the homilies of Ælfric and of Wulfstan it would be most difficult to draw a distinct limit between the rhetorical consideration and the others; but from the ratios in general as differing from those of other texts, we conclude that the particularity of the word-order of these texts is due to their *style*, i. e. their rhetorical character).

What we learn from previous inquiries is that the Anglo-Saxon — and Old Teutonic in general — word-order was very free; that however, this freedom was used within certain limits, and that these limits have been gradually narrowing till it resulted in our modern Teutonic, more uniform word-orders. Some of the influences producing this change have been pointed out, too, though not developed to their full extent and strength. We do not possess here, as in phonology (cf. McKnight p. 136), fixed rules and

dates by which to arrange the phenomena chronologically and to state the power of *analogy*, a factor so important in the development of language. The present study will be a step towards this. I shall confine myself to three principles affecting word-order: 1) The syntacical, comprising the relations between the *members* (not *ideas*, see p. 34) of the clause (here the subject, the predicate, and its modifiers) and tending to *clearness*. 2) The principle of *emphasis*, or rather, *rhythm*, determining the arrangement of *words* (not *syllables*) more or less supporting the sentence-stress (strong and weak, or 'long' and 'short' words, the traditional categories used in our grammars serving as subdivisions; here: the noun, including pronouns others than the personal, demonstrative, relative, and interrogative, with and without preposition; different kinds of adverbs and verbs, and the demonstrative and personal pronouns, independent of, or together with, a preposition) and tending to reduce the word-order into certain *schemes or types*. 3) Lastly, the principle of *analogy*, tending to level differences under one word-order or type, in other words, to lessen or increase the domain of one of the first two principles. Besides these, we may occasionally refer to 4) a fourth principle, that of *differentiation*, the opposite of the third, and tending to keep up, with a special aim, the difference between two or more types by giving each of them a meaning or a function of its own; even this principle may, of course, encroach on the domain of the first and the second.

I will now proceed to give an account of my method.

The examples included in the statistics, or otherwise taken into consideration, may be divided, with regard to their completeness of meaning, into the following head-groups:

1) *full* clauses, containing at least a subject and a finite verb.

2) *half* clauses, without any subject expressed, otherwise constructed as the full ones; the subject to be understood a) is the same as that of a preceding clause, co-ordinate, or parallel with the clause in question, b) or is expressed in the context only by a modifier, by the subject of a non-parallel clause, c) by an infinite verb, or a whole clause; d) is not expressed at all but is wholly inherent in the verb.

3) *fragmentary* clauses with a) (a subject,) an infinite verb and one modifier or more, b) (a subject and) two or more verb-modifiers.

All other combinations of words (i. e. word-groups containing no verb and no verb-modifiers, a subject + one verb-modifier, a conjunction or interjection + a subject, etc.) and isolated words (e. g. a word co-ordinated with another but not immediately linked with it) are excluded from our considerations. Co-ordinated words, other than verbs, if standing together or separated only by their own modifiers, are counted as *one* member; but co-ordinated verbs must not be separated at all by any modifier; if so, each verb with its surrounding members is taken as a whole. If only one of the verbs can govern these, only this verb is included. In some cases *mid* is equal to *and*, and is treated accordingly. An isolated word standing before a clause, before a vocative or *ðonne, buton* in fragmentary clauses, but repeated after them, does not count; as for *ðæt ðæt, ðær ðær*, I have followed the punctuation adopted in the text, or, where there is none, applied one of the above rules; note the temporal-causal conjunction *nu (þe)* and compounded conjunctions like *forðam (ðe), mid ðam ðe, to ðon ðæt, ðe ma ðe, no ðæt an ðæt, ða ða, swa oft swa, swa swa* etc. (when they are not to be understood otherwise,

i. e. when the determinative word may be taken as connected with a particular word). Likewise *se þe* is looked upon as one word when repeated by a pers. pronoun; *hwilum (-le) þe* is thought of as an adverbial substantive + a relative word.

Consequently the following examples are to be divided thus (I leave a blank space between the verbs, their subjects, and their modifiers, i. e. the member-groups, and put a comma or a full stop between the clause-units):
cýstaninga mearc hit sced suđan to weardsetle. đanne fram weardsetle cýsstaninga mearc (subj.) to wichema mearce. OETs, 439. brocces ham (subj.) đes dennes nama (pred. complement) ibidem, does not count. þæt hy ofergeaton and forgymdon æt nyhstan heora drihten Wu. 11. and hy đærto gebædon, and wendon, þæt etc. ibidem. ælc yfel cymđ of deofle, and ælc broc and nan bot (the last group does not count). ibidem. forđam ne mæg ænig man godes mihta ne his mærđa geminsjan, ne ænig đing awyrdan 35. þanne, gif hýt of þan scearpe bane býþ — — —, þanne wite þu gewýslice (the first *þanne* does not count) PD 140. and forþan he deđ þæt, þæt he wile Wu. 195. ic wat þæt, þæt (sub. conj.) hi ne magon Boe. 90. Is þæt þonne for dysilic geswinc, þæt ge winnaþ eowre worulđ, to đon þæt ge wilniaþ, etc. 62. ehte we his ealle mid woruldlicre steore, þe læs þe we habban ænigne gemanan nu heora synna, and eft heora wita Wu. 169. and þeah he beoþ swa geþwæra, þætte no þæt an þæt hi magon geferan beon. ac, etc. Boe. 74. ac þa đa heo ne mihte þæt munuccild gehyran, þa, etc. Wu. 152. þa burha đreade Crist mid

his halgan muđe, þa þa he þus cwæđ 194. swa swa wæter adwæsceđ fyr, swa, etc. 238. Se þe micele welan hæfþ. he him ondræt, etc. Boe. 46.

When a single relative word belongs to two clauses, it does not count in the preceding, except when it is the subject. A whole clause counts as a member only when a subject. Consequently:

forþam đe hi ne magon sellan, þæt hi gehataþ Boe. 90. ac sođ is þæt (counts twice) ic secge Wu. 168. ic eom ondræd, þæt is, þæt sumum men stent ege fram mê (the substantive clause is predicative complement). AG 123. and hire þuncheđ lang þat hie on him bileueđ (here the clause is subject). OEH II, 183.

Fragmentary clauses may consist of isolated members or of modifiers in a looser connection with what precedes:

nađeles ure helende crist is his onlepi sune. noht after chesunge ac after strene. OEH II, 19. he teđ forđ geres. hwile after fox. hwile after wulue, etc., 35. and fecheđ his leswe. hwile uppen trewes. and hwile uppen cliues. and hwile in þe dales. 37.

There is in some cases a difficulty in distinguishing the nature of a clause though its meaning is clear. A demonstrative pronoun may be conceived as a relative as well, especially when there are no modifiers after the subject or the verb. These ambiguous examples will be eliminated from the general statistics for the relative position of the subject and the verb, and that of the modifier or the infinite verb with relation to the finite verb, so that, by their number, they may not force the result this way or that. When a clause is co-ordinated with a causal period immediately preceding it, there may in some cases arise an ambiguity

as to whether the clause is causal or not, and it is then treated in the above way:
gemunan we nû forđan þone halgan sunnandæg, forđan þe he is ealra daga fyrmest, and (causal?) he wæs se æresta, and he bið eft se nexta (Wu. 215). forþan þa men, þe swylc þing begað, ne begytað hi nâ mine bletsunge ne mîne myltse, ac (causal?) heom becymð færlice min grama ofer for þæs dæges forsewenysse (Wu. 296).

Some suppose (McKnight, Hermann) that hypotaxis has developed from parataxis (see however Princ p. 130). However this may be, it is a fact that even our Teutonic languages, in their old literary stages, show a marked predilection for the latter by repeatedly going over from hypotaxis to parataxis when more clauses link with a subordinate [1]). We are then allowed to look upon the third,

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[1]) The tendency to dispense with subordinate clauses in conversation can be traced down to our modern languages, for instance Swedish. The periods 'Då jag vet, att han blir förhindrad att komma, bryr jag mig ej om att bedja honom besvära sig', 'Staden, vid hvars åsyn han fordom plägat påskynda sina steg till ett lyckligt hem, låg tigande och utan lockelse' (Vapensmeden 153), 'Lars, som uppfunnit dogmen om Luthers ofelbarhet, emedan hans logik behöfde den inför modern, höjde handen, som var van vid smedsläggan, på hotande sätt i luften' (ibidem 63) would be rendered in conversational style e. g.: 'Jag vet, (att) han blir förhindrad att komma, *därför* bryr jag — — —' or 'Jag bryr mig ej om — — —, för jag vet — — —', 'Förr brukade han påskynda sina steg, när han såg staden; nu låg den — — —' 'Lars hade funnit upp — — —, (för) hans logik behöfde den — — —; han höjde handen — och den var van vid smedsläggan —', etc. The spoken language has the same predilection for adverbs (in Swedish: så, därför, därför så, och så, etc.) as the literary language for conjunctions. The difference of style strikes us, when we compare, in any book, for instance *Vapensmeden,* the pieces containing a dialogue between the persons, on the one hand, a description of scenery or a reflection, on the other: in the former, short periods built paratactically for the most part, in the latter, long ones with many subordinate

the fourth, etc. clause, parallel with a causal one in meaning, as a principal clause, — note that 'for' is now thought of as a co-ordinating conjunction —, even though the two clauses preceding may still be conceived as subordinated. Only by differentiating the function (and meaning) has modern English got its *'for'* referring to what precedes, and its 'because', 'as' referring indiscriminately to what precedes, or follows, but all of them *equally subordinating* (or rather, equally co-ordinating, as in modern English there is scarcely any difference in word-order between independent declarative clauses and subordinated ones). But still Wyclif used 'for' where modern English demands 'because' or 'as'. Besides, as will be shown below (pp. 73, 120), the causal clause is the one most resembling the principal of all as to word-order, as, indeed, it is as to meaning.

Speaking about causal clauses we must mention another ambiguity; 'forþam þe' may be shortened 'forþan', and the latter may signify also 'therefore'. In some cases

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clauses, often two determining the same clause, sometimes two or more of different degrees. In Swedish conversation we use the conjunction 'för' instead of 'ty' or 'emedan'; in modern English the conjunction 'for' is literary as well as conversational. English has also the adverb or conjunction 'so' = 'så att', 'och därför' expressive of the causal connection and making up for the absence of a 'because' or 'as' in the preceding clause. On studying the older stages of our modern languages we shall notice the tendency to shorten the conjunctional phrase (Sw. thy at — ty, for (thy) at — för, sua at — så; cf. also the expressions 'så ofta', 'så snart', etc.; Engl. forþam þe — forþam — for, swa þat — so, etc.) till the result is something between a co-ordinating conjunction, or adverb, and a subordinating conjunction. In some other cases the subordinating word is not expressed (the relative pronoun, the conjunction 'that', 'att'). In short, there seems, during all stages of language (cf. Jacobi, Compositum und Nebensatz), to have existed a certain disinclination to hypotaxis which is proportioned to the degree of unaffectedness and spontaneity of the words spoken. (Cf. Principien, p. 130).

it does not matter much whether we take a clause beginning with 'forþan' as containing a reason (causal), or a conclusion (declarative) drawn from what precedes, and contains this reason:

(After enumerating different kinds of offences and grievances among the English:) and ðæs we habbað ealle þurh godes yrre bysmor gelome — — — *Forðam* hit is on us eallum swutol and gesyne, þæt we ær þysan oftor brecan, þonne we bettan, and þy is þiss þeode fela onsæge. Wu. 159; either 'forðam' = therefore: all the sins are to be found among us; we, then, clearly see that, etc., or better = for: for we must admit, etc., (referring to the enumeration of sins, or to the allusion to God's wrath).

But such instances are not numerous, and partly because of this, partly because of the great resemblance in meaning (and in word-order) between causal and declarative sentences they do not very much affect the result.

As I have already shown (pp. 17, 18), it is not always to the purpose in an examination like this to follow the common way of dividing periods into clauses (e. g. in point of fragmentary clauses and co-ordinated verbs). We must make modifications also in dividing the clause into members. A priori we feel inclined to take into consideration only members which are in a direct syntactical relation with the verb. This is true of a language with so-called fixed word-order. But Anglo-Saxon, with its fuller inflections, could allow of the words being arranged more freely, without infringing the principle of clearness (p. 16), so that even other modifiers than those of a verb contributed to build up the frame of the clause by passing the narrow limits of a member-group. The looser the connection with the peculiar word, the stronger the dependence on the whole, or at least on its central word, the verb: the adjective, leaving its place

before the headword, became something between an attributive and an adverbial, or predicative, phrase (in the Swedish grammar: *predikativt attribut*); the preposition, by separating itself from its regimen, was conceived as an adverb. But even when these were not the relations, it must be borne in mind that syntactical relation was only *one* of the two most important agents influencing word-order, the rhythmical arrangement of the words being the other. If, then, we do not wish to eliminate the numerous instances of this 'tag-order' (Sweet), we must level them with clauses having more coherent order. In the general statistics, therefore, I look upon a separated genitive, or dative, as an adverbial phrase, a separated attributive, or appositional, phrase as something like the object or the predicative complement (i. e. neither adverbial nor prepositional), a separated preposition (no other) as an adverb. *Doun, eall* (in some cases, cf. p. 24), *ful, fast(e), one, east, norð, suð, west, riht*, and other words, adverbs in meaning but *etymologically* connected with nouns, will be considered adverbs; if, however, a case ending still survives, the word is levelled with an adverbial phrase: *hwilum (-le);* if a preposition precedes, with a prepositional one: *awæg, todæg, togædere*, except in expressions such as *to oft, for oft* (= adverbs); if a preposition is compounded with a preceding *þær, her*, e. g. *heron, þæræfter, þærabutan,* the whole is thought of as an adverb. *Butan* may be a) a conjunction linking together two parallel members; it will then not be put down as a member of this same clause, but, as *þonne* = than, and a relative or comparative clause, be considered an addition influencing the order of the preceding words; b) a conjunction but without any parallel member; then it has some relation with the verb, and is treated accordingly (and ænig man oðrum ne bêode butan riht, Wu 29); c) a preposition (and he â

swa byđ buton ælcum ende, Wu. 16). A genitive as a predicative complement is treated as an adjectival predicative complement (ælc đæra ys dære forman declinunge. AG, 136; for a separated attributive genitive, see above p. 23). A predicative complement preceded by *to* is grouped with prepositional phrases, as is also a dative preceded by *to*[1]), but not the prepositional phrase ocurring after *þæt is* parallel with another preceding (*homo* mann is gecweden fram *humo*, þæt is fram moldan, = pred. compl. AG. 293[2]). When the verb *beon* is followed by an adjectival predicative complement + a dative, the latter is in most cases to be referred to the complement, and does not count. A phrase referring to the subject, or the object, in a more indirect way than an attributive one (= 'predikativt attribut', or, as we may call them, subjectival and objectival modifiers) is counted among the verb-modifiefs as well a predicative complement; *silf* and *eall*, however, when standing next to a substantive or pronoun, are only considered appositional or attributive phrases, and are not taken into consideration (and heo sorhfull þa axode, etc. Wu. 152; forđam deofol sylf hit gefadađ, Wu. 54; and eal hy beođ yfele and swicole, ibidem; but there are instances where *eall* must be counted as a verbal modifier, almost as an adverb, even in this position, cf. p. 23: and mid đam unwrencan eallan biđ huru se earmscapena man, Antecrist, eal afylled, ibidem).

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[1]) It is remarkable that in Wu. there are numerous instances of the former, but few of the latter construction.

[2]) In consequence of this we should sometimes look upon a prepositional phrase as a subject, when referring to a preceding one; but this would be yielding too much to logical considerations; in the following instance, therefore, 'for se fader is on þe sune on þrie wise. þat on is on westme — — þat ođer is on wlite, etc.' OEH. II, 19; 'on westme', 'on wlite' are treated as other prepositional phrases.

Aegđer and *nađer* are mere conjunctions, and, when referring to modifiers and standing next to them, are counted together with these as emphasized member-groups. Other adverbs (e. g. *eac, furþum*) may also refer to modifiers; there are, however, not many instances where in this case they stand next to them; *hvilum* is occasionally met with as a conjunctional adverb (*hwilum — hwilum*, cf. p. 19), but there is no reason for not grouping it, even in this case, with other substantives in adverbial phrases.

In several cases there is some difficulty in distinguishing the subject from the pred. compl. I have made it a rule to consider the member added to explain a parable, as the subject, the member following *þæt is* by way of translation, the predicative complement.

> on tilie ferde ut and sew — — — Godes word (subj.) is þat sed. and crist seluen þe sowere. OEH II, 155. Đe sunne þe ich of specce. þat is ure helende self (subj. ibidem, 115). þâs twegen naman synd indeclinabilia, þæt synd ungebîgendlîce (pred. compl., AG, 51). Et incidit in latrones and bicam uppen utlagen, þat waren deflen (pred. compl., if the clause is conceived as a translation, otherwise, the subject; OEH, II 33.)

It would perhaps be more consequent and more simple always to consider *þæt* in such clauses the subject, as the more definite term of the two; besides, it matters very little whether we take the member before, or that after the verb as the subject, for the word-order is invariably subj. — verb—pred. compl., or pred. compl.—verb—subj., and these word-orders are not concurrent types. — Of course, there may be some instances where we are not quite sure whether we have to deal with an accusative, or a dative, with a prepositional verb-modifier, or a prepositional sub-

stantive modifier[1]). But I bring all objects together in the same group. briefly stating that the accusatives form a vast majority; only when both an accusative and a dative occur in the same clause, do I make a distinction; but in these instances there is no difficulty in analyzing the objects. As for the other kind of ambiguity, we shall very seldom meet with it. If the prepositional phrase follows an adjective which is pred. compl., we must often refer it to this, as we did a dative (p. 24).

The division of the words according to their peculiar stress must, of course, be summary and, in details, subject to modifications. Here I will only draw the limit between the more unaccentuated words and the others. I also speak about 'short' and 'long' words, though neither of these denominations is anything but a name not to be understood as a definition. As short words I class *personal* pronouns, except *silf*, the pronouns *se*, *þes*, *hwa* (rel., interr., indef.) and *monosyllabic* adverbs, provided etymology does not prove them to be derived from nouns or verbs: *her, þær, þus, swa* (etymologically connected with the above pronouns), *forþ* (or with a preposition), *eac, git, leng, ma, mæst, na* (originally compounded, or connected with a verb or a noun, but all of them conceived as short, simple adverbs already in Anglo-Saxon), *up, ut;* further *monosyllabic* prepositions when used as adverbs: *at, big, for, from, in, mid, of, on, to, wiþ,* used as simple adverbs and prepositions even in other old Teutonic languages). We may occasionally find some of these words, besides the pronouns, dissyllabic, owing to original composition or the effect of stress *(here, þara, eke, gete, fore; inne, mide, offe, onne)*, but they are then to

[1]) Indeed it is quite impossible to maintain a distinction in all instances, for the old case-system is at that period breaking down; we even meet with *hine* instead of *him*.

be considered only as adverbs varying in form but not differing in stress. On the other hand, the following words will be treated, among others (see above and p. 41), as 'long' words: *dun, eal, faste, ful, neah, near, one, east, norð, suð, west, riht*, not very different from the corresponding nouns as to stress; further *more*, originally an adjective, *nawiht, þonne (thanne)*, in course of time shortened into *nouht, noht, not, then*, and other originally long words; *ma* when used as a substantive (Wu. 298), and other words occasionally playing the rôle of a noun; finally *ymbe* because it is most often met with as a dissyllabic word (rarely *ymb*), and all other adverbs with two syllables or more. To be noted is also *neng* (OEH II, 217), shortened from *na leng*. Dissyllabic comparative forms of the above adverbs (e. g. *ofter*), and every word determined by another and combined with it (e. g. a. pers. pron. + *eal, silf*, an apposition, or a vocative, belonging to it; *to forð, for oft*, etc.) are to be classed among the corresponding 'long' words.

I make a distinction between auxiliaries and other verbs for two reasons. The former are more unaccented than the latter, and, when combined with an infinite verb, they have no modifier of their own. Consequently *lætan* is not an auxiliary (even though its own object must be understood from the context). *Agan* is thought of as a full stress-verb when not governing an infinite verb, otherwise as an auxiliary. There are other verbs of the same nature, undoubtedly not very much inferior in stress to other verbs, but not amenable to taking modifiers when they govern an infinite verb, viz. verbs which denote the 'beginning', the 'duration', or 'the end' of an action.

I have thought it convenient to push analysis even to distinguishing between different parts of spech (as shown

above) and different kinds of adverbs. Amongst adverbs expressing place I class several prepositional adverbs (e. g. *æfter*, *beforan*, *ymbe*, etc.) and the pronominal adverbs (*herby þærmid*, etc.), except *þæræfter* = then, whereupon, and *þærfor* = on account of that. The former is grouped among the adverbs denoting indefinite time, the latter among the conjunctional adverbs. Those denoting manner and quantity are brought together in the same group. In the chapter on the relative position of the subject and the finite verb, the division is somewhat modified, for usage in modern English gives us certain hints here. In this chapter dative-objects, accusative-objects and demonstrative adverbs form separate groups. In the latter are included all compounds with *her*, *þær* + a preposition. For adverbs consisting of a preposition + an adverb, or a noun, see above.

Eft sone, *swa þeah*, *in to* are thought of as single words. Sometimes we are in doubt whether we have to deal with a word, or with the first term of a compound; I shall make allowance for this fact, insomuch as clauses containing particles, commonly met with in composition with verbs but likely to be separate words just then, will be studied separately.

In several cases (e. g. in AG) *Latin* words must be considered members of an Anglo-Saxon clause. They are then grouped among the nouns even though they should be personal pronouns or infinite verbs.

I append the following principles for utilizing the statistics in the tables.

1) The total of instances in any group must not fall below a certain figure, 3, 4, or 5, according to the frequency of instances in general.

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2) Even then there must be a gradation, so that a more positive conclusion is to be drawn from the *greater* numbers (e. g. 40 : 100) than from the *less* (e. g. 2 : 5) though expressing the same ratio[1]). The small numbers, however, increase in reliability when, brought into connection with each other in the way mentioned below, they give a positive result.

3) The difference between the two terms must be of a certain importance, otherwise it does not count, i. e., the terms are levelled (e. g. 40 : 45). For the numbers above 20 I think it superfluous to give any rules, except that I level numbers giving ratios between 1 : 1 and 4 : 5. Numbers below 20 will be levelled when their difference is at the most 4, e. g. : 1 = 2, 3, 4, 5; 2 = 3—6; consequently 2 : 6 is thought af as 1 : 1, not as 1 : 3, 16 : 20 = 1 : 1, not 4 : 5. For *zero*-cases, see below.

4) When ratios are compared with each other, and found to be almost equally great, they are levelled. Levelled ratios are called *indifferent* cases, and are eliminated; the others are *regular*, or *irregular*, and count.

5) Ratios with numbers below 10 and whose difference is at the most 4 form, when compared with other ratios, indifferent cases (2 : 6 and 4 : 12, 1 : 5 = 2 : 10—2 : 12, etc.) according to 4) or, compared with each other, *dubious* cases when both can be levelled under 1 : 1 (e. g. 1 : 5, 2 : 5, 3 : 6, 5 : 6), except when one ratio has the first term greater than the second, and the other, vice versa (e. g. 1 : 5, 5 : 1; 4 : 6, 6 : 5; the first and th third ratio go up to 1 : 1, the second and the fourth go down to 1 : 1). Other ratios

[1]) This proceeding, to be recommended even on a priori grounds, is proved by experience to be the right one, for in collecting instances we often find the ratio between two low numbers change into another as we go an adding new instances.

keep their nominal value (e. g. 1 : 6; 2 : 8 = 1 : 4). But those ratios just mentioned which are to be levelled under 1 : 1 form dubious cases also with other ratios when their terms are not inverted (see above 1 : 5, 5 : 1, etc.) and the latter do not extend above the real ratios 1 : 5, 1 : 4, 1 : 3, etc. respectively (e. g. 1 : 5 = 12 : 20, or 10 : 40 because 1 : 5 may represent the real ratios 1 : 5, 1 : 4, 1 : 3, 1 : 2, 1 : 1; but 5 : 1 not = 12 : 20, or 10 : 40, nor 1 : 5 = 3 : 20, or 4 : 40 because 12 : 20 and 10 : 40 are both less than the real ratio 1 : 1, and 3 : 20, or 4 : 40 are both less than the real ratio 1 : 5; for the same reason 1 : 4 is not = 5 : 40, etc.). Dubious cases will be eliminated along with the indifferent.

6) There is a fifth kind of case, which I call *zero-cases* because one or two of the ratios contain the number 0. To these the ratios belong only when *both* contain 0 as the same term (e. g. 0 : 15 and 0 : 30, but not, of course, 0 : 15 and 30 : 0, etc., because inverted) or when the one containing the 0 would give a greater *real* ratio than the other if we put in the number 1 instead of 0 (e. g. 0 : 5 and 1 : 30, but not 0 : 30 and 1 : 5; 0 : 7 and 3 : 30, but not 0 : 7 and 3 : 15). If otherwise, the cases will be considered either regular, irregular, or indifferent, according to 4. Consequently 0 : 5, 0 : 6, and 0 : 7 form zero-cases, 0 : 5, 1 : 6, 3 : 18, indifferent, and 3 : 9, 7 : 12, 12 : 20, etc., regular, or irregular cases with 0 : 5

7) Two ratios form *one* case, three, *two* cases, four *three* cases, etc. When in such a series there is an irregular case, the following ratio must be compared not with that standing *next* before it but with the next but one, (e. g. 10 : 20—10 : 30—40 : 30—20 : 30 = 1 regular case and 2 irregular; 10 : 20—10 : 30—40 : 30—30 : 100 = 1 regular case, 1 irregular, and 1 indifferent, etc.).

For the texts considered in the tables the statistics are *complete* with the following exceptions. *OETs* comprises: Lorica Prayer, Codex Aureus Inscription, Durham Admonition, Martyrology Fragment, Saxon Genealogies (pp. 174—9) and the Charters (pp. 426—460), except, of course, those containing only enumerations of names or Latin clauses. From *Boe.* are excluded, as a matter of fact, *The metres of Boethius;* but *Procemium* and *Tituli Capitum* have been added to the seven books, or rather the 42 chapters. Ma. = the text contained in the left-hand pages 24—244 in Skeat's edition, except the glosses in the margin; consequently, the Gospel of Matthew properly speaking. The two texts are counted as one, except in the very few cases where the word-order is different; then I sum up the various readings. AG = Ælfric's Grammar pp. 2—296. In PD *De Generatione Hominis* is not included (p. 146). Of *Wu.* the following is excluded: Chapter VIII (very little different from VII), IX only Latin), XVIII (by Ælfric), XXIX pp. 136 l. 25—140 l. 2 (a fragmentary rendering of the contents of *Be domes dæge*), XLIX (resembles a passage in the Blickling Homilies), LV (the greatest part of which is by Ælfric). In OEH Part I Chapter XXI, I have made excerpts only of those readings which are to be preferred to those in Chapter XIX, or which are full clauses not to be found in XIX, consequently also of the conclusion p. 203 ll. 10—21; the appendices II and III and the poetical Chapters VI, XVIII, XX are excluded. The statistics belonging to Part II comprise Chapters I—XXIV. — In all these books the statistics are collected from the readings in the text, not from those in the notes; the different readings vary, however, very little from each other in point of word-order.

Statistics are given only when it is necessary (e. g. in the leading features of word-order in principal de-

clarative and subordinate clauses belonging to one of the categories mentioned p. 17), i e. where the prevailing type is not obvious at first sight, or where I must examine the gradation between the ratios. I hope that on account of the statistical system adopted, corrections to be made in the tables for any reason, will be such as will not affect the conclusions drawn from them.

The instances taken from the different texts are all of them rendered in the printed types used in Sweet's Edition of OETs, Zupitza's of AG, Napier's of Wu. As for OEH, there is only one more Anglo-Saxon type, ȝ, and this I have kept throughout all instances belonging to OEH, changing with g according to the orthography of the text. The words *and, þæt* are used instead of their abbreviations, the sign (ˊ), instead of the point (·) when an accent; but other signs and the notes of distinction are rendered in the same way as in the corresponding texts (except p. 18).

CHAPTER I.

General remarks on Indo-European, Teutonic, and Anglo-Saxon stress and word-order.

We surely cannot deny that stress has played, and still plays, an important rôle in the outer form of the clause, as well as in that of the word. Its influence, however, should not be expected to be the same in the two cases. Indeed, there is a great difference between the effect produced on the clause, and that produced on the word. For the nature of a word is such as not to admit (at least not to any considerable extent) of the transposition of the parts [1]), but of the lengthening or shortening of the whole — the very opposite of the nature of a clause. The word is a more compact unit than the clause, a circumstance due to the fact that in our languages, as far as we can trace them back, it is to the word and not to the syllable, we have to look for the units of ideas. This does not imply that a word is always the expression of a single idea, for exclamations like 'fool!' or 'come!' are equal to whole clauses, and a genitive includes at least *two* ideas (cf. Principien, p. 298). But we cannot therefore say that the syllables are the units, nor that they build up the words as these latter do the clause. A shortening of the clause by a word or more must necessarily imply the lessening of the number of its ideas.

If, then, stress shall modify a clause, it must be done by *transposing* the words, i. e. by changing an older word-order. What do we mean by 'word-order'? The question

[1]) I speak here, of course, only of our modern Indo-European languages in their *literary* stages, not about language in its first development, where the single word has not yet been formed out of the intricate and indivisible mass of a clause (see Progress, Chapter V)

has been answered in different ways. Word-order may signify 1) the order of *ideas*, and it is this view of the question that Weil, Paul (Principien, pp. 111—113), and Gabelentz (in Zschr. f. Völkerpsychologie. 6, 376, 378) consider. But I say here with Knight, p. 142: "It is apparent that the order of words representing the order of ideas, since it is the same in all languages, ancient and modern, is not a subject for historical consideration". If the 'psychological subject' and the 'psychological predicate' [1]) may be vested with different grammatical forms, we cannot introduce this point of view without further complicating the matter. I think we can dispense with it by admitting that the emphasized word very often but not always takes the first place in the clause. In other words, I start from the orders *subject-anything else,* and *anything else-subject* as two facts not falling under discussion here, provided the term preceding the subject is connective and emphasized. Otherwise, I shall endeavour to study the introductory words too. How very little these two points of view — the psychological and the syntactical — have to do with each other, is evident from what Paul says, p. 113: "V. d. Gabelentz in dem oben erwähnten Aufsatze meint, dass die Anordnung Subjekt-Prädikat (beides als psychologische Kategorieen betrachtet) ausnahmslos gelte. Diese Ansicht scheint mir nicht ganz richtig; wir müssen bei Beurteilung dieser Frage die Sprachen und die Fälle ganz bei Seite lassen, in denen für die Stellung des grammatischen Subjekts und Prädikats durch die Tradition eine feste Regel herausgebildet ist. Wir dürfen

[1]) Besides, Paul does not agree in every detail with Gabelentz in his definition of these words. According to Paul, neither the syntactical categories, nor stress, nor word-order, give us the means of ascertaining which is the psychological subject, which the psychological predicate.

nur solche Fälle heranziehen, in denen beide den Platz vertauschen können, in denen also die Stellung nicht durch grammatische, sondern lediglich durch psychologische Normen bedingt ist." I should think, then, that cases of the second kind stand outside my inquiry, e. g. the orders

verbal modifier (= psych. subj. or pred.) — $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{gramm. subj.}\\ \text{gramm. pred.}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (= psych. pred. or subj.) and $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{gramm. subj.}\\ \text{gramm. pred.}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (= psych. subj. or pred.). — verbal modifier (= psych. pred. or subj.),

and that these psychological distinctions, which extend also to the elements of a *member-group* (p. 18; cf. Princ. pp. 124, 125) and over a whole *period* (Princ. p. 125 et seq.), may serve to throw light upon, and explain the process of the *formation,* and not that of the *development* or *limitation* of the clause, which belongs to a much later period, i. e., to the period I have undertaken to study. It is true that in many cases this limitation has not yet been sufficiently carried out for us to make use of our grammatical distinctions. These cases, however, are either in a decided minority in Anglo-Saxon (on the contrary very numerous in Middle-High-German) — and then they can be eliminated or treated of separately — or are amenable to being conceived as completely developed and limited clauses (e. g. the construction called *apo koinou* or the 'omission' of the relative word). — 'Word-order' may be taken in two other senses: 2) the order of words in their syntactical relation with the verb, and with each other, and 3) the rhythmical arrangement of words according to their stress. In these two senses, then, but especially in the latter, I use the term 'word-order'. It may be objected that inconveniences will arise out of this double method. I think this will not be the case. For I draw up distinct limits between the kinds of analysis

(pp. 22—28), and if I do not make allowance in every particular case for both points of view (e. g., in the group of 'object' I bring together substantives and adjectives, in the group of 'personal pronoun without preposition', datives and accusatives; yet in the former group I make allowance for the syntactical relation, in as much as in discussing the statistics I shall briefly mention which members are most often, or are very seldom to be found in this case and in that), it is because I consider further distinctions at the same time unimportant and disadvantageous for our view of the material. Each of these points of view refers to one of the two head-principles governing word-order (p. 12). It will be shown by the statistics that, as a rule, the rhythmical principle has a more decided influence than the syntactical upon the position of the modifier with relation to the verb. When a clause contains two or more modifiers of the same value as to stress, I have recourse to the syntactical point of view.

What do we mean here by stress? Even if we do not deal with the melodious side of stress, and the particular stress belonging to the isolate word, there still remain two different kinds. The one kind is that found in a clause pronounced in a calm, unaffected way, without any intentional emphasis on a special word. The other is the very opposite. Knight seems to confuse these two kinds, owing to his different division of word-order. For he speaks of word-order as a) "a *subjective* movement" or "the order in which the thought-elements receive expression. In this sense of the phrase, the order of words is, or tends to be the same, in all languages, ancient or modern. — — — This general subjective order in the progression is from the known to the unknown. — — That the new idea may be connected with ideas already in mind, the speaker begins with

something known" (p. 138) this being evidently the order of ideas spoken of, pp. 34, 35, and there pronounced not to be matter for our discussion; and as b) "an objective movement. It may refer to the relative position of the essential terms of a proposition. As Bergaigne has maintained, there are but two essential relations between the terms of a proposition, — the predicative and the dependent. Consequently there are but three essential terms, — the subject, the predicate, and the object" (p. 142). This is of course identical with the order of words in their syntactical relation with the verb and with each other. As for the third kind of word-order, I am not quite sure if Knight includes it in the first, or in the second. For on the one hand he distinguishes between several degrees of emphasis (p. 139), which distinction must be just the rhythmical gradation of words; on the other he makes some allowance for the position of the personal pronoun in his examination of the syntactical word-order. If, however, we suppose that he more positively refers the position of *words as such* to the order of *ideas,* we find him, by fusing two senses of word-order, confusing two kinds of emphasis. It is true that he admits (p. 139) that the influence of emphasis on word-order is an indirect one. "The desire to emphasize first influences the accentuation and only indirectly, through the accentuation, influences the word-order". But we do not get any clear idea from this as to the real relation between emphasis and accentuation (= 'sentence-stress'). They are, however, the two kinds of stress I have just spoken of, and I will try to point out the difference and the original connection between them [1].

[1]) Cf. SWEET, N. E. Gr. II. pp. 28—37; he includes both in the denomination 'extra-stress' with its different subdivisions.

In the clause "I have given him the book", the word 'book' has a relatively strong stress, but this may occasionally not be so strong as if I say "It is the boók I have given him". The former stress is inherent to the word, it will not be toned down, as the latter will, if we change the clause into "It is I who have given him the book" or "It is to him I have given the book". On the other hand, 'is' and 'I' are not equally emphasized in all cases. The same gradation as to stress exists between the nominative 'book' (e. g. 'A book is lying on the table'), and the dative or accusative 'me'. We cannot, then, say that the stress depends on the nature of the member, or that a modifier has a stronger stress than the subject, it depends on that of the *word* (cf., however, Weil, who distinguishes between the stress of the modifying member and that of the modified, thinking the latter the stronger). We may find numerous instances where substantives, and likewise the personal pronouns, have not the same stress when subjects, as when modifiers. But these varieties depend on the context, and on psychological circumstances (see above pp. 34, 35). As we have seen, these circumstances (especially in our developed languages) are no longer parallel with the syntactical (Princ. pp. 241, 264). If they were, they would perhaps have combined with the latter to fix the stress on certain members, for instance on the modifier. But the syntactical relations coincide in several cases with the division of words into classes: there are at least fixed rules for their correspondence. On the other hand, there is a gradation of stress, somewhat connected with the division of words into nouns, adverbs, verbs, pronouns, and prepositions, and by the evidence of several linguistical facts (weakening and dropping of syllables and sounds, fixed position of certain words in the metre, etc.) this gradation can be traced back to times

immemorial. This stress, then, we might call *traditional*, in opposition to the other, the *occasional* or *psychological*. The latter may be very old, too, but as it is in some connection with the order of ideas, widely differing from word-order properly speaking, we can perhaps find some rules for the correspondence between this stress and the order of ideas, but we cannot expect to find any connection between it and the order of words. The divers kinds of ideas may have peculiar kinds of psychological stress assigned to them, the divers classes of words certainly have not. Hence the name of *occasional* stress is the proper one, when we treat of *words* and word-order. And as it is this order I have undertaken to examine, I can without any scruple dispense with the occasional stress, leaving it to fall on any word and to form types which are not concurrent types with those of the tables (cf. p. 35). On the other hand, there is another kind of emphasis more compatible with the common sentence-stress (i. e. the stress built up with the traditional word-stress), viz. the emphasis formed by co-ordination or subordination, and producing a member-group often longer and more compact than the 'long' or 'strong' words. This emphasis I shall include in my examination.

That the two kinds of stress have not always stood side by side is most probable, for language must have reached a certain degree of development before the dualism arose. Now the origin of language is not distinguished by simplicity either, as Jespersen has shown in his 'Progress'. In the beginning there must have been a regular chaos in stress as well as in the construction of the clause. But when the latter had begun to develop into a group of independent and movable parts, the words — each of them a designation for a more simple idea —, the next step was for the words

to arrange themselves into certain categories corresponding with psychological relations (e. g. substance, quality, action; see Princ. p. 327; cf. also Bergaigne, Weil, Jespersen; according to B. and W., the verb is the most primitive word-class) and forming the archetype of our word-classes. Now, there may be different explanations for the gradation of stress between these categories. But knowing the general linguistical fact that *differentiation* does not create the forms or the types: that, on the contrary, it arises from them (see Progr., chapter IV), we shall not deviate very far from the truth by maintaining that stress, being already graduated for some reason or other (e. g. with the psychological view of bringing into prominence the idea most important on this or that special occasion, and of withholding the others), by and by got the task of differentiation, i. e., settled down on the different categories in its different degrees, which, then, became characteristics of them and grew traditional. At the same time, however, it may have kept its old function. When, later on, the psychological relations were displaced, and succeeded by the classification of words into substantives, adjectives, etc. (Princ. p. 241), the dualism in stress was maintained, though somewhat modified, and it still continues to stamp our languages. However, the traditional word-stress may be modified according to the surrounding words in the clause, for we cannot say that the same class of words, even when not struck by the strongest psychological stress, always has the same (traditional) stress (for instances see H. Sweet, Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch). But at all events the traditional stress in language has a more deeply rooted existence and firm position as to the words than the psychological one, and must be considered as having played a much more important rôle than the latter.

How is the change from the occasional stress into a traditional one to be conceived? Evidently there sprang forth in language words (e. g. pronouns) which, as a rule, did not bring any new ideas into the clause. These words must then be unaccentuated. Other facts may have contributed, e. g. the outer form of the words (see also below). The greater the number of sounds forming the word, the greater also the expiratory force supporting it. In the general fretting and decay to which all words are exposed, the long one had this advantage over the short, that by dispensing with a syllable or two it might keep and concentrate its stress. However, the dropping of syllables, especially that of endings, may have led also, directly or indirectly, through obscuration of the original sense and function, to want of stress. There are several degrees of it, as we have seen, and short words and unaccentuated words are not adequate ideas. I include among them those mentioned p. 26. I might have added the relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns in general (see Grndrss, pp. 44, 49), but it was my intention to include only short words of this category, i. e. monosyllables, occasionally dissyllabic in flexion. Whether their want of stress is owing to their shortness, or to their nature of not conveying clear and interesting ideas (see Grndrss, p. 49), such words have long existed in our Indo-European languages. They are not very numerous. The personal pronouns and the monosyllabic prepositions may be considered mere proclitics and enclitics; the demonstrative pronouns and the monosyllabic adverbs have already some stress when compared with these. Their general characteristic, when they are compared with nouns, verbs, and other adverbs, is their want of stress.

As for the position of the atonic words, it may influence sentence-stress, and be influenced by it. For the

arrangement of words according to the sentence-stress makes it necessary to suppose that one type or more of this stress had already developed. Such a development, on the other hand, is not possible before a certain degree of fixed word-order was at hand; there, as in other cases, two phenomena have existed simultaneously, but at some period the one of them has drawn more attention to itself than the other, and has been developed on a much larger scale than before (cf. p. 40). *There has been no intentional creating of a rhythmical word-order, but development of a rudimentary one.* This order may have been originally half-conscious, but has sunk, in course of time, to routine, as the sentence-stress, from being psychological, sank to a traditional one.

We have now to start from a certain period, e. g. the Old Teutonic, and state what was its word-order, that is to say, how far the rhythmical order had advanced and infringed on the syntactical. In word-order, as in sentencestress, we may distinguish between the *traditional* and the *occasional* (Grndrss, p. 38); moreover, it is the occasional stress that causes the occasional word-order, and the traditional stress (Delbrück: 'mittlere' or 'gewöhnliche Stimmung'), the traditional word-order. The latter kind of stress and word-order will be the object of my investigation.

In Old Teutonic, word-order had developed thus far (Grndrss, pp. 66, 67, Knight, pp. 213—219): 1) Inversion in declarative-affirmative clauses occurs without introductory members; when after such words, it is to be considered as only a little modified, in so much as the finite verb has not the first place, and it is then due to the principle of connection (cf.p. 11). Consequently, when an introductory word is followed by the direct word-order, this implies that there is no connection between the two clauses (cf. Modern English: absolutely inverted word-order after negative or restraining

adverbs and adverbial phrases; conditionally direct order and inversion after a predicative complement and demonstrative adverbs; absolutely direct order after an accusative-object and a subordinate clause: the predicative complement and the demonstrative adverbs taking a medial position as to their power of connecting). Inversion met with after non-connecting words, is due to analogy. The principle of emphasis (= rhythmical consideration) is of secondary importance, i. e., influences word-order in clauses with originally direct order but which are subject to analogy from clauses with inversion (cf. however here p. 112). Inversion in declarative-affirmative clauses does not seem to be the primitive order; but it is so in other independent clauses without introductory interrogative words, emphasis here being the *first* principle: the first place is emphatic, and for that reason is occupied by the finite verb (clauses of command, where the finite verb is the most important), or is unemphatic, and therefore demands the finite verb (interrogative, optative, enclitic, and negative clauses, in all of which the verbal element is not very important). 2) The finite verb may take end-position even in independent clauses. This position seems to be the primitive (except in some clauses mentioned in 1)), but has fallen into decay already in the old Teutonic dialects, so that there is some difficulty in determining whether it belongs to primitive Teutonic (Behaghel, Knight) or not (Delbrück and Tomanetz assert the new order to have come in already at that period). Wackernagel cannot be right in his theory that there existed differentiation in word-order between principal and subordinate clauses, for subordinate clauses are most unlikely to have existed in primitive Indo-European (Hermann). The differentiation in question flourished in the ninth century. Since that time it has been continually diminishing. 3) There

is in other cases in the old Teutonic dialects a certain predilection for synthetic order (= the words governed before their head-words), the infinite verb following its modifier, etc.[1]).

Though it is possible that primitive Indo-European had no differentiation of word-order in declarative clauses, still there existed (according to Delbrück, but not to Hermann) some difference between principal and subordinate clauses as to the stress of the verb: that of the former clause was not so accentuated as that of the latter, owing to the nature of a dependent clause of not giving in itself any complete meaning. How, then, did differentiation of word-order come to occur in Teutonic? Here Delbrück and Hermann agree in making differentiation begin with clauses with pronominal object (so also Knight), more frequently met with in subordinate than in principal clauses, and more adhering to the old proclitic position than other objects.

So far these; I will now follow up the matter. Word-order acquired for some time a function that it had not before, that of differentiation. Differentiation was already at hand in the different stress of the verb, consequently implying some difference of *rhythm;* in the transition from the old end-position of the verb to the new word-order (see p. 43, 2) rhythmical considerations may have played some rôle. The endeavours to get a uniform rhythm, i. e. the rhythmical analogy, brought in at first differentiation by the aid of 'strong' and 'weak' modifiers, the former generally displacing the verb, the latter adhering more to their old position; but as these were more numerous in subordinate clauses than in principal, differentiation of the position of modifiers became a differentiation of clauses (consequently:

[1]) That the end-position of the verb and the synthetic order in general was primitive in Indo-European, Delbrück proves pp. 80—85.

princ.: subj.—verb—strong mod., *subord.*: subj.—weak mod.—verb); a syntactical analogy came in and influenced the position even of 'weak' modifiers in principal, of 'strong' in subordinate clauses. However, before this analogy was carried out universally, which would have led to a complete differentiation, a new analogy came in, syntactical like the second, but more unlimited, tending to level both modifiers and clauses, swept away the rhythmical uniformity, and created the syntactical (verb—modifier). These are the outlines of the history of the analytical word-order in English; I have not found them positively drawn up anywhere (cf. Knight, p. 219; below p. 144).

There are some words whose syntactical relation is not always clear. They are either adverbs or prepositions. In the first case they may be conceived as independent words, or as the first element of composition, in the second they may stand before or after their noun. Now, there are transitions between all these cases, so that it is necessary to lay down some principles for referring them to this category or to that. a) the particle has, by long verbal proclisis, degraded so much in stress that its outer form differs from that of the adverb: *a- be- ge-*; this group, of course, I do not take into consideration; b) the particle is an adverb, often met with in composition with a verb, but cannot be used as a preposition: *forð, up, ut* (not counting *down* and other noun-cases); c) the particle may be the first element of composition, a preposition, or an adverb denoting place: *after, for, fram, in, of, ofer, on, ongeán, to, under, wiþ, ymbe, þurh;* in treating of the groups b) and c) I have followed the orthography of the texts, consequently considered them as elements of composition when they are written together with the verbs; cases where a particle may be conceived as an adverb or as a preposition indifferently are not numerous; in the statistics,

then, I choose one of the points of view possible, but in the further discussion I shall make allowance for all eventualities. Of course, there are many cases where ambiguity is excluded, e. g. when the verb does not occur as a simple word *(onginnan)*, or when the two words, taken separately, would give another meaning *(forgiefan)*, and in most prepositional phrases *(butan ende, to dæg)*; with these I also class the demonstrative adverbs compounded with *her* and *þar: herafter, þaron*, etc. (exceptions, of course, may occur where the second word must not be referred to *her, þar*).

To get a deeper insight into these circumstances we must go back to primitive Teutonic. Behaghel (Die neuh. Zwillingsw.) makes the following conclusion from the existence of the German inseparable prefixes: *these verbal compounds are younger than the Teutonic displacement of stress (resulting in the first syllable getting the strongest stress), but date before the period when the end-position of the verb ceased to prevail.* In this manner we can explain the prefix being unaccented, i. e. having not undergone the displacement of stress, and the nature of such a word having not undergone the displacing with relation to the verb. The same explanation must apply to the inseparable verb-compounds of all Teutonic languages. Consequently, the separable compounds belong to a later period. All other prepositional and adverbial phrases are either remains of the earliest times, or are analogical new-formations. The following scheme may illustrate the process:

I. Inseparable compounds. A) The prefix atonic, originally a preposition. 1) The original relation to the modifier obscured: Germ. *be-, emp-, ent-*, etc. + verb. 2) The relation to the modifier is still evident: Germ. *wider-, durch-, über-, um-, unter-* + verb (widerstéhen, durchsétzen = penetrate, übersétzen = cross, umgében = surround, untergráben);

Eng. *in-* [1]), *over-*, *under-*, *with-* (inlaý, overloók, undergó, withstánd). B) The prefix atonic, originally an adverb, or doubtful as to its relation: Germ. überführen = convict, überréden = persuade, übersétzen = translate, unterdrücken = put down, unternéhmen = undertake; but generally these verbs, when inseparable compounds, belong to A 2); Eng. *for-*, *(forth-)*, *in-*, *out-* [2]), *over-*, *under-*, *up-*, *with-* (forbíd, forgét, forgíve, 'forthpútting', insét, inwéave, outdó, outfáce, outgó, outgrów, overtáke, overwórk, upbraíd, uphóld, uplíft); Sw. *för-* (förbjuda, förglömma, förlåta).

II. Separable compounds. The particle accentuated, being an adverb. 1) The particle precedes or follows the verb without difference of sense: Germ.: some separable compounds, which place the particle in perfect harmony with the common word-order: ausgehen, ausliefern, etc.; Sw.: most of the compound verbs with the particle indifferently preceding or following the simple verb: áftaga — taga áf, frå'nskilja — skilja frå'n, nédsätta — sätta néd, úpphäfva — häfva úpp; some of these Swedish verbs when taken in a figurative sense should be compounded part. + verb. 2) The particle precedes and follows the verb in different senses (cf. also 1): Sw. ínställa sig — ställa sig ín. The formation of these verbs is quite analogous to that of the preceding group, only differentiation of sense has now come in. The verbs with the particle conceived as a preposition and accentuated, are to be judged a little differently: Germ. einem entgegenkommen — einem entgegen kommen; more-

[1]) There are but few such compounds of Teutonic origin. Some of these, and many other prepositional compounds, are to be considered nouns: býgone, íngoing. They have all of them the prefix accented, and are not met with as finite verbs.

[2]) This adv. seems to suggest a later period for the composition and, perhaps, influence from the French as to stress; in this way others, too, may be explained.

over, compounds without this double construction such as, einen anstarren, einem aufpassen. We had better refer these to III. When the same verb is combined with the same particle, but not in the same way, the case does not belong to this group, e. g. Germ. einen Tanz dúrchtanzen — ein Zimmer durchtánzen, übersetzen = row any one in a boat across — übersétzen = cross — übersétzen = translate; Sw. ómtala or tala óm = tell -- tála om (prep.) = speak about. 3) The particle only precedes the verb: Sw. ántaga, érbjuda, ínbilla, úrskilja, ö'fvergifva. Such Swedish verbs seem to be formed upon German patterns, but otherwise to have been treated in the same way as verbs belonging to 1), this double consideration resulting in inseparable compounds with the particle accentuated. 4) The particle only follows the verbs: Eng. make oút, make úp, put ín, put ón, take óff, etc.; Sw. taga í.

III. Verb + adverbial phrases. The stress is something between that of an adverb and that of a preposition, as the particle is not followed by a noun or pronoun, but is syntactically connected with one preceding. With these are to be classed cases of tmesis: Eng. 'the man {whom} I am speaking of', 'he is not cared for'; Sw. 'mannen, {som} jag talar om', 'han har ingenting att lefva af'. Other postpositive instances might be considered almost analogous: Germ. die Nacht hindurch, and a number of separable compounds (see above II 2).

IV. Verb + prepositional phrases. This is the largest group of all, indeed the only one living and capable of an unlimited number of combinations.

If then, we fix the formation of compounds belonging to I, to the period indicated by Behaghel [1]), we must assign

[1]) As for noun-compounds, they must be previous to the Teutonic displacement of stress. Besides, the syntactical relation between

the formation of the compounds in II to a later period, those in 1) and 2), when language hesitated between the two word-orders; the corresponding adverbial phrases before or after, those in II 4 after these; (as for 3), I give it no consideration, as it is likely to contain borrowed words, or imitated groups). All compounds belonging to I may have sprung up in the position *after* a noun (cf. Br. Grndrss p. 111): the particle became atonic between two accentuated words (influence of the position on the stress, p. 41). Those in II have not had this position at that early period (perhaps particle-noun-verb). Later on, the varying position before or after the verb, may have been the cause of the particle not being a mere prefix: Anglo-Saxon, then, offers the same spectacle of separable compounds as modern German. In all Teutonic languages the history of these compounds is closely connected with the history of word-order and sentence-stress.

How far back can we trace this order? Or when are we sure to find the old order still prevailing? Perhaps verbal composition will give us a clue to the problem. We find native compounds of the types of I 1) in all the old Teutonic languages [1]). Would it be too bold, then, to attribute the formation of these compounds and, consequently, the full predominancy of the old word-order to the common Teutonic period? Indeed, we find remnants of it also in Gothic and in the Old Scandinavian dialects. The rhythmical feeling creating the new order must, then, (according to Behaghel's law)

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the elements is here such as to suggest a more ancient formation than that of verb-compounds: for adverbs are, as a rule, not amenable now to modifying substantives: ínlet — inlét.

[1]) In old Icelandic, verbal compounds with prepositional or adverbial prefixes, atonic or not, are rather rare. If we except the German separable 'prefixes', doublets such as Swedish áftaga — taga áf are Anglo-Saxon and later Scandinavian formations.

have already existed in primitive Teutonic. This much I can assert that the German and Anglo-Saxon inseparable prefixes are the most numerous and the best known as to their want of stress. The Gothic *and- at- bi- dis- du- faura- ga- us-* are, in all probability, atonic, too (cf. Tamm, Svensk Etym. Ordbok). In old Icelandic we meet with the atonic prefix *for*. Before the separation of the German and the Anglo-Saxon dialects, this rhythmical feeling, however, seems to be quite developed: for we can hardly explain several prefixes *(a- be- for- ge-*, perhaps also *ofer*, *þurh*, *under*, see p. 47) undergoing the same fate, i. e. forming the first atonic element in verbal compounds, as a parallel process. To be noted are Anglo-Saxon *and-* (German *ent-*) with, *on-* (German *an-*) without stress. *And-* may have been levelled either with the separable prefixes, or with the inseparable of the corresponding noun-compounds (e. g. and-swaru, etc.), *on-* with the inseparable verb-prefixes. At all events, they do not prove much against the above theory, for analogy may, of course, work in different ways, and on different scales, in the different languages. A striking feature of West-Teutonic is the rhythmical arrangement of words in general, in opposition to Gothic (where perhaps nothing definite can be proved in this respect, owing to the nature and extent of the literature remaining, but where, as a rule, the personal pronoun, when an object, is placed next to the verb, or rather between two stress-words to mark the rhythm) and Old Icelandic (which cannot, however, give us an adequate idea of Scandinavian in its oldest stage; here also atonic words are used to separate accentuated words which are syntactically connected with each other, Lund, Oldn. Ordföjn.-l., 3, 457). Wackernagel *(Zwei Gesetze)* states that there is a certain rhythm in all Indo-European languages, in as much as an atonic word often takes its place between two accentuated ones, even though

in syntactical relation with each other, and because there is a tendency to place a short word before a long one. Add to these two laws, which, still, do not *create any fixed word-order*, the difference in stress between auxiliaries and other verbs; between the verbs of principal and the verbs of subordinate clauses; and, finally, the end-position of the finite verb in all declarative clauses, dependent or not, and we have drawn up the outlines of what may be called common, or, rather, primitive Indo-European sentence-stress and word-order. The development of the rhythmical scheme ⏑ –, consequently short modifier—verb and verb—long modifier, must not be fixed till after the division of this primitive language into the 7 or 8 great head-groups. *Primitive Teutonic, then, must be considered the earliest date for the process tending to level the clauses, if not all, at least group by group, under a more uniform rhythmical scheme and ending, in the dialects* [1]*, with the general postverbal position.* This rhythmical scheme, though of course never to be found pure and undisturbed by other influences, will be our starting point in the following investigation. Thus the theory of the old preverbal order (maintained by Behaghel and Knight) and that of the new postverbal (maintained by Delbrück and Tomanetz) belonging to primitive Teutonic may be compatible. The development is quite natural, the phenomena working into each other like cog-wheels: the preverbal order producing proclisis before the verb, the proclisis creating a rhythmical scheme with eventual postverbal order (p. 75) — this process, then, marks the limit between the two orders, and is completed

[1]) The postverbal order cannot, however, have *prevailed* in primitive Teutonic, for differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses is an intermediate stage here (p. 44) belonging to the German and the Anglo-Saxon dialects separately and, according to Ries, culminating about A. D. 800.

in the space comprising the primitive Teutonic and West-Teutonic periods —, this scheme, finally, resulting in a syntactical, viz. uniform, analytic word-order.

From the above outlines of the history of Teutonic word-order and sentence-stress will result the following gradation of the words and members as to their stress (cf. pp. 26, 27, 41).

A. Long words and strong words: nouns, pronouns, except those in B, and adverbs with more than one syllable: 1) prepositional phrases containing nouns; 2) adverbial phrases containing nouns, separated genitives; 3) other members consisting of nouns: objects, predicative complements, or other modifiers of a substantive when connected also with the verb or separated from their head-word; 4) divers kinds of adverbs, between which of course it must be difficult to establish any gradation, but of which with consideration to the development of word-order, adverbs expressing indefinite time have been put farthest to the left in the tables, and are followed by modal, conjunctional, and other adverbs.

B. Short words and weak words: monosyllabic adverbs, the pronouns *se* (dem. and. rel.), *þe* (rel.), *þisse* (dem.), *hwa* (rel., interr., indef.), personal pronouns: 1), 2) prepositional phrases with one of these pronouns; 3) monosyllabic adverbs which are not conjunctional; even here there is among the different adverbs (especially the demonstrative *þa*, *þus* and those belonging to II 4) a gradation of stress which will be brought under further discussion; 4) conjunctional adverbs (*eac, þeah,* etc.); 5) demonstrative pronouns and *hwa* without preposition; 6) personal pronouns without prepositions; this last group is perhaps the only unaccented one.

As for the verb, I have already mentioned the distinction to be made between auxiliaries, 'half auxiliaries', and other verbs. Even stress-verbs are, on the whole,

inferior in stress to nouns and to adverbs. They, consequently, stand very low in the scale, and that is why the postverbal order, once the proclisis-rhythm had begun to be favoured, gained so complete a victory. The auxiliaries are still weaker: indeed they must be considered the weakest words of their clauses, except a personal pronoun; and as a personal pronoun without a preposition is seldom met with in clauses containing an auxiliary as the only verb (ser. 2), and this pronoun has the opportunity of being put in proclisis after the auxiliary which is followed by a participle, or an infinitive (ser. 3), there is every reason for placing this verb next to the subject in clauses without inversion. We can, then, expect that the movement has begun with such clauses, and has been carried out more universally and sooner than in others.

The negation *ne* will not be counted as a special member, as with a regularity which is almost unbroken, it takes its place immediately before the verb. The conjunctions *ne* (before another word) and *ne* — *ne* (before a subject or modifier and a verb) will be treated of separately.

CHAPTER II.

Introductory words.

In this chapter only clauses with nouns or pronouns as subjects come under discussion.

Considering that all *purely* conjunctional words, i. e. words not counting as one of the members of the clause, subject, predicate and any modifier, consequently *and, ac, but,* subordinate conjunctions, and all relative and interrogative words, as a rule, take their place before all others, they will be excluded from the following study, with regard to their own position.

A. Principal declarative clauses.

As for other introductory words, it is not my intention here to enter into details, the agencies here at work upon the arrangement being, mostly, of quite a different nature from that of the four principles I have proposed to examine (p. 16). But as there are transitions between the occasional and the traditional stress, I give an account of the most important causes of *first*-position (i. e. the position of the first member-group, see p. 18), and begin with those which are most certain not to belong to our investigation. In conclusion, I shall lay down some euphonic rules to which first-position is subject.

a) First-position is connective or conjunctional. This is perhaps the most common of all cases, and comprises conjunctional adverbs when not modifying a special word, and other words when referring to what precedes.

Eac we witan ful georne, hvær seo yrmđ gewearđ þæt, etc. Wu. 161. Đâs ôđre bêođ geđêodde tô ab-

lativum — — — — Gyt synd fêower præpositiones, þe magon bêon geþêodde ægðer gê accussativo gê ablativo AG 271, 273. and, þeah þæt gelimpe, þæt men sume hwile syn her on worolde, swaþeah hig beoð ââ on geswince and mid sorge Wu. 273. ac cweð þin án word and min cnapa biþ gehæled. Soðlice (= for) ic eom man under anwealde gesett, etc. Ma. 67, 68. Witodlice (= but) þa se hælend þis gehyrde þa wundrode he ibid. Ða wearð mycel styrung geworden on þære sæ — — — witodlice (= but) he slep 70; eornustlice (= but) ne ondræde ge hig (ibid.; soðlice, witodlice, eornustlice are most often met with as conjunctional adverbs in this text, and regularly placed before the subject and predicate). þa wæron him gebrohte lytlingas tó — — — þa (= and, but) þreadon hys leorning cnihtas hig; þa (= but) cwæð se hælend — — — 154. forðam seo ofermodignys ys for gode and eac for worulda ealra cræfta wyrst and gode laðost. þurh ða ofermodignesse mære englas on heofonum wurdon geo forsceapene to atelicum deoflum Wu. 145. forðon þe eorðliche lauerd ne mei don na mare bote pinen þe wrecche licome to deaðe. Ah godalmihtin þe mei fordon eiðer ȝe þine wrecche licome and þine saule. Swilcne lauerd we aȝen to dreden OEH I 21. he sweueð hus mid þiestre nicht. Giet for an oðre þing god ȝescop þa niht I 233. Forlete þe iuele man his wei. and þe unrihtwise his fele unnette speche. and turne to gode. Iuel is þat ne wile his agene saule helpen — — — Unrihtwise we ben þanne we ne don ure helendes wille II 69. on þis wilderne ben fuȝer lages. þat mest alle wilde deor to sechеð. þat on is pleȝe, þat oder drinch, þe þridde chepinge. þe ferðe chirche.

— — — At pleȝe he teldeđ þe grune of idelnesse 211. Se forme is se deofel. and his igéng. Se ođer þes middenard. Se þridde is wel nieh þe cristen man. þat is his aȝon flesc. — — — In þes deofles heriscole fihteđ agén ús his ȝewerged gastes. and unþeawes. and unwraste lahtres. In þes middeneardes iscole. selđen and uniselđen. In þes flesces iscole. euel ȝeþanc and fule lustes. Of þe formen seieđ sanctus paulus — — — Of þan ođren cweđ sanctus Iohannes se godspellere — — — Of þe þridde queđ sanctus paulus I 243.

b) As is shown by the last instances, first-position may be used by way of disjunction. This use is extended to clauses where there is no reference to what precedes:

ær he wæs sođ godd on godcundnesse and næs na mann, ac nu he is ægđer ge sođ godd ge sođ mann Wu. 16. Leofan men, on wodnesdæg, þe byđ caput ieiunii bisceopas ascadađ on manegan stowan ût of cyrican for heora agenan þearfe þa, đe healice on openlican synnan hy sylfe forgyltan. and eft on đunresdæg ær eastran hy geinnjađ into cyrican þa, đe, etc. 104; (cf. p. 58). and eft ymbe lytel ongan mancyn eft abeligan god for sunnandæges weorcum, and þa ongan drihten writan þæt gewrit bufan þam seofođan heofone be sunnandæges weorcum, swa hit her beforan sægđ. and nu dođ men þam gelicost syđđan, swylce hit wære idel spell and unsođ 213. ærest stæpđ se modiga deofol to mid his gefilce — — — æfter þam modigan unþeawe in gæđ seo fule fornicatio — — — heræfter cumađ þære sawle brogan 249. He þen-cheđ þe deofel. þesne mon ic habbe itaken to mine aȝene bihofþe. Ma monna ic scolde biȝeten OEH I 27. Nu cumeđ þe prest þet him

nawiht ne help — — — Nu is þes prest uorþe. and him naueþ nawiht iholpen. Nu cumeđ þes diakne — — — Nu is þes deakne forþe. Nu kumeđ þes helendisse 81. On sore eche we hider cumen. On swunche we here wunien. / In wowe we henne witeđ II 179.

c) The introductory word is used less by way of connection than by way of transition, i. e. to introduce a new paragraph:

Men þa leofestan, syn we þonne gemyndige ure sawle þearfe ægđer ge his rædes ge his mildheortnesse. and jû geara ure yldran ne woldan sunnandæges bebodu healdan. Wu. 213. þenne cweđ he eft. — — — Nu ic mot in þet ilke hus þet ic er wes OEH I 27. Nu gode menn understandeđ þis bispel 233. Wunderliche ben þe sæ. — — — Eft-sone (Latin item) þe more fishes in þe se eten þe lasse — — — Eftsone þe sæ is biter II 177, 179. eftsona is regularly used in PD. to recommend another remedy, but only in imperative clauses without a subject; it scarcely belongs to the verb, but corresponds to Latin *item* when heading a new paragraph). To dai man mai iheren he þe wile wich þeau wes, etc. OEH II 47, the words introducing chapter VIII.

d) In sharp contrast with this demonstrative use of first-position is another, the determinative, when it refers to a following clause, subordinate or not. If this clause comes at the end of the former, a considerable emphasis of the introductory member is required to point out the relation:

and swa on þære menniscnesse wæs seo godcundnes bediglod, þæt he þurh eadmetta, etc. Wu. 16. Mare hit him deđ to herme þenne to gode OEH I 27. Mon. elelendis he is icleped for he is of unkuþe þode

81. Strang he his and michti. for he ȝesceop alle þing of nahte 233. On þre wise fasteđ man. þe wel wel fasteđ here leinten. þe sýnfulle for to clensen him. þe rihtwise for to witiende his rihtwisnesse. and nehlechen to holinesse. þe holi man fasteđ forto hegen his sete on heuene II 57 [1]).

e) The clause may be put next to the introductory member, which will get some stress by it, like any other modifier determined in this way. There may be a special reason for this arrangement, e. g. the fact of there being several modifiers in the clause, or some other of them having a determining clause, too, etc.

Leofan men, on wodnesdæg, þe byđ caput ieiunii bisceopas ascađađ on manegan stowan ût of cyrican for heora agenan þearfe þa, đe healice on openlicon synnan hy sylfe forgyltan Wu. 104 (cf. p. 56). Ælcne eornustlice þe me cyþ beforan mannum. ic cyþe hyne beforan mínun fæder þe on heofenum ys Ma. 86. al þat we habbeđ of þése feder we habbeđ. of wam we alle and us sielđe habbeđ OEH I 233. Ac al þat man dođ sunderlepes for godes luue. he scal haue eche lif on blisse II 159.

f) The introductory word has no reference to what precedes or follows; it simply sets forth, with a certain emphasis, an idea, as a demonstrative word points out something not spoken of, but immediately at hand.

and swiþe oft drehten bead þam halgan Moyse Wu. 217. and đonne absolutionem bisceopas ofer hy

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[1]) Here we must class the kind of tmesis met with, e. g., in the conjunctional adverb *ægđer- ge- ge* (but *ægđer ge — ge* is not counted as a special member), etc.: *and ægđer he þolode ge cyle ge hætan* Wu. 17. *eall heo hit onscunaþ* (= She renounces it all) Boe. 28. *symle biþ se beah godes edleanes þam godum gehealden on ecnesse* 188.

rædaƀ 104. Ah uuel hit is to werien to-ȝeines þene fa; þe. Mon., etc. OEH I 153. Edie ben alle þo: þe here giltes ben atleten II 69. To soƀe ich giu seie þat þo þe, etc. 159. butan intingan hig me wurþiaþ Ma. 126.

In all these cases given above, the introductory member stands in a principal clause and not in the apodosis (except two instances in a)). On examining them we shall find that, as a rule, even Modern English would allow of this position. The following restrictions, however, must be made: 1) certain adverbs and adverbial phrases are now very often met with immediately after the subject (*however*, *then*, *therefore;* further, expressions noting indefinite time, they being neither emphatic nor connective: *always, ever*, *never*, *often, once*, *at once*, *one day*, etc.); 2) the separation of the modifier and the determining clause is not much favoured, for we shall either have to put the subordinate clause before the subject and predicate, or the modifier after them; 3) as for the cases b—f), euphony now demands that the introductory part of the clause shall not overweigh the end (= the verbal modifiers); consequently, the first-position of a heavy member, when not connective properly speaking (= a), e. g. 'this man I know', 'this man my brother knows', 'at that moment he arrived', 'such he is') is avoided if no other modifiers follow, or unless inversion restore the balance: 'at noon the sun (it) is highest in the sky'; 'at four o'clock he arrived'; 'great was my surprise'; 'in July come the summer rains'; But when inversion is not allowed, there must not be any introductory member: 'we came in July, in the morning'; 'he left on a Tuesday, and he arrived on a Thursday'; 'he is not at home, he is in the country'; 'when did he arrive?' 'He arrived last Wednesday', etc. [1]) (but possibly:

[1]) *Sweet,* N. E. Gr. II p. 30, 'contrasted' stress.

'on a Tuesday he left his country where — — — and on a Thursday he saw the distant coast which was to be his new home'). All this proves that first-position is no more the position of mere emphasis, and that, when not connective (which I think it is in most instances), it is subject to the laws of euphony as well as other parts of the clause.

On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon connective members may be put after the subject or predicate though, perhaps, not so often:

a) eall middaneard bið þonne on dæg byrnende Wu. 25. se deð swa, þe his gehalgodan sawle, etc. 249. We wæron þider gehatene and geladede to ðam halgan ham, etc. 265. Ic wat þeah þat þu hit woldest habban mid miclan feo geboht Boe. 72. færþ þonne micel folc to 188. — — — hwiche he munegeþ to þis fehte. Summe men luueden heore sunne — — he ne muneged noht heom to þis fiht OEH I 151. Anfald oðer twafald is ech mon — — — Ah Iob wes anfald rihtwis. Mon. ibid.

In this way some demonstrative and conjunctional adverbs are often found after the subject (as the above conjunctional adverbs in Modern English, see p. 59).

and he ða syððan þa gefean þæs heofonlican eðles, þe he ær sceawode, þanonforð geseon ne mihte Wu. 1. we þa syðþan of þæs ylcan mannes flæsce on þas wræclican woruld acende wurdon ibid. ða deoflu hi ða læddon 141. and hy þonne farað mid gode sylfum, etc. 204. Hwæt ða felga ðeah hangiaþ on ðam spacan Boe 222. Sume uþwitan þeah secgaþ 224. Ic ðonne (= But I) secge. ibid.

Strictly speaking, the personal pronouns, too, should be classed among the connective words. But they have long ago ceased to unite the faculty of connecting ideas and the relative stress of the demonstrative words properly

speaking, and have become unimportant and weak words totally submitting to the influence of sentence-stress as to their position. But when they occasionally appear with the rôle of demonstratives, they occupy the same position as these, and become more emphatic (cf. p. 83, note):

and hyre wæs myrge on hyre mode þurh þæt Wu. 152. ac hiom þæs cymþ ful ær ece hunger 220. and us beodaƀ ure godcundan lareowas þurh witegena word 234.

Even in disjunction, first-position is not always used to separate the different portions:

b) Héo is hefone liht. — — — Heo his ælra þinga angin. and hordfruma and ænde. he his órd fór he wes efre. he is ænde buton ælcere ȝiendunȝe. heo is alra kingene king OEH I 218, 219.

Likewise when a new paragraph begins:

c) we willaƀ eow geswuteljan nu ærest, gyf eower hwylc nyte, hwæt, etc. Wu. 288.

As for the cases d—f), the members in question here are more likely than in a—c) not to be introductory; instances of such non-introductory members will be given in the following chapters.

In a context two or more words may belong to a), but only one of them is made introductory:

Simle he biþ gifende — — — Simle he biƀ ælmihtig — — — Simle he biƀ lociende — — — Simle he biþ gelice manþwære. Simle he biþ ece. — — — Simle he biƀ freoh Boe. 258 (cf. b) and f)). Nu hit iburd breke þas word OEH I 79 (cf. a) and c)).

Both may be introductory, as in:

and þeah ƀone anne noman ƀu todældest on feower gesceafta Boe. 128[1]).

[1]) When there are two or more introductory words, however,

Now we might ask: can any rules be laid down for the position of a verbal modifier before or after the subject, or the predicate, in Anglo-Saxon and Modern English? Not very fixed at least. But this much we can infer from the above cases and from the nature of the personal pronoun (and other weak words): *two things are required at one time for a member to occupy, by preference, first-position, viz. faculty of linking an idea together with a preceding one, and stress.* When one of these qualifications is not at hand, first-position is very often, or most often, supplanted by another arrangement (e. g. the cases d—f), the personal pronoun[1]). And here we have come to the real object of our investigation.

I should think that the above cases comprise most instances of principal clauses. As is shown by a couple of instances in a), the introductory word may be used to repeat or represent a preceding subordinate clause; such words are above all *swa*, *þa*, *þonne*. Otherwise we do not so often meet with a clause preceded by its antecedent and introduced by a modifier. I give the following instances:

ða he cild wæs, eall hine man fedde Wu. 16. þeah heo ofer midne dæg onsige and lute to þære eorþan. eft heo secþ hire gecynde Boe 88. ðeah he hire nawer ne genealæce. on ælcere stowe he is hire emn neah 130.

In order to show the influence of euphony on first-position in Anglo-Saxon, I give below a table comprising

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both, or all of them, are not always connective (see d) and f)), or, if they are, the one may somewhat modify the other (see b: and eft on ðunresdæg ær eastran, etc.).

[1]) If a disjunction does not extend to whole clauses or periods, but is limited to members, we must not expect to find first-position: we have then to do with emphasis of contrast, strong enough to draw the members in question towards the end of the clause (see note, p. 59).

instances with a *long* subject and with the most decidedly connective and non-connective modifiers (= cases a) and f), not including the noun). The table, however, is somewhat incomplete, for there are a number of instances with inversion and a third, fourth, or fifth modifier which I have not examined; these modifiers amount to a hundred odd, but only a small part of them can be expected to belong to those below, for generally the last place is occupied by the strongest modifiers, i. e. the nouns. On the other hand, these instances are somewhat counterbalanced by others with two or more introductory words and inversion: only the last introductory word in these instances is included in the table; many of the others, altogether about 200, could not, at all events, be classed here. In short, those instances which are wanting would not very much affect the result, for if the proportions should appear otherwise by the inclusion of these two kinds of instances, it would be, I hope, just in the direction indicated below, i. e. relatively greater frequency of first-position in ser. 1 than in other series, for then first-position in series 1 would increase by nearly half of the instances which are wanting without being counterbalanced by others, while in series 5, it would increase by at most 60 instances, counterbalanced by a number of instances in the left column.

The following numbers represent the frequency of a single modifier, not that of whole clauses. Ser. 1 contains instances with the modifier in question when alone, ser. 2, this modifier + an infin. verb; ser. 3 and 4 = instances with a short modifier besides the one in question, without and with an infinite verb; ser. 5 = other cases (consequently all instances with more infinite verbs than one, with more introductory words than two, etc.). I = position within the clause, II = first-position. A = with one, B = with

two or more introductory words. When *þonne*, *þa* are not treated of separately, they are included in the other numbers. The abbreviations are the same as those used in tables 5—10.

TABLE 1. Long modifiers.

		I	A	II B		A	II	B
Adv. of indef. time (partly dem., e. g. *þonne*)	1.	6	4		28	*þonne*		*þonne*
	2.	6	1	1	3	»	1	
	3.	5		2	14	»		
	4.	2			4	»		
	5.	157	22	15	146	»	19	»

		I	A	II B
Conj. adv. (partly dem.)	1.		20	
	2.		9	
	3.	2	3	1
	4.		1	
	5.	36	77	14

		I	A	II B
Modal. adv.	1.	19	24	
	2.	12	3	
	3.	25	1	
	4.	7		
	5.	182	34	5

		I	A	II B
Local. adv. (partly dem.)	1.	9	3	
	2.	5	1	
	3.	3		
	4.	2		
	5.	66	1	

		A	II B
Mere dem. adv. others than *þonne*.	1.	29	
	2.	2	
	3.		
	4.		
	5.	18	4

TABLE 2. Short modifiers.

		I	A	II B
Conj. adv.	1.	8	7	
	2.	1	2	
	3.	1	1	1
	4.	1	4	
	5.	73	51	17

		I	A	II B		A	II	B
Other adv. (incl. *nu*, *þa*; mostly dem.)	1.	46	107		165	*þa*		*þa*
	2.	23	8		3	»		
	3.	10	11	2	67	»		
	4.	13	7	2	2	»		
	5.	256	197	39	238	»	18	»

		I	A	II B
P	1.	70	31	
	2.	23	9	
	3.	10		
	4.	8		2
	5.	371	38	25

		I	A	II B
pP	1.	18	5	
	2.	10	2	
	3.	1		
	4.	1		
	5.	137	1	8

		I	A	II B
D	1.	50	60	
	2.	3	4	
	3.	2	1	
	4.	2		
	5.	36	38	11

		I	A	II B
pD	1.	5	56	
	2.	2	13	
	3.	1	5	
	4.	3	5	
	5.	36	67	6

On surveying the table we find:

1) That connective words (even if we do not include the personal pronoun) are far more frequent than other words in first-position.

2) First-position is, in series 1 and 5 [1]), inferior to the other position in the groups Local ad., P. and pP, by far the stronger of the two types in Conj. ad. (long), Other ad. (short, incl. *þa)* and pD; in Mod. ad. it is inferior in series 5, but in series 1 equal to the other type; in Indef. t., Conj. ad. (short), and D it is equal to it in both series. — We then find that pD and long conj. ad. uniting strength with connectiveness, (cf. p. 62) are most often to be found at the beginning of the clause, that short conj. ad. and D, being somewhat weaker, take their position almost indifferently at the beginning of, or within the clause; the same may be said about Indef. t., partly because of the group being mixed up with other adverbs than *þonne*. That short ad., others than conj., possess a certain force, in spite of their shortness, we may infer from the fact of their being treated as pD and long conj. ad. In the third place come the long modal and local adverbs: they are strong, but are not connective, as a rule; P and pP take the lowest rank from the opposite cause: they are connective, but generally lack stress.

3) First-position is relatively more frequent in ser. 1 than in 5 in all groups, except Short conj. ad. and D, where the ratios in both series are much the same. This shows that in Anglo-Saxon there did not exist the same disinclination, as is in Modern English, to opening the clause with strong modifiers without counterbalancing them by others at the end. On the contrary, in the group Other (short) ad., the tendency to make the beginning strong and let the clause end abruptly, with the subject or the finite

[1]) The others are, as a rule, too insignificant to be taken into consideration here, where we cannot utilize statistics in the same exhaustive way as otherwise.

verb, is shown even in series 1, when compared with 2, and in 3, when compared with 4. In most of our texts we also find a number of instances with two (or more) introductory words without any other modifiers. *This way of opening the clause as well as that of using the personal pronoun (at least without a preposition) as an introductory word, has almost disappeared in Modern English.*

II. Subordinate clauses.

We find the same cases here as in principal clauses. However, in subordinate clauses the examples are not so frequent.

a) Gif þonne hwa ne recþ hwæþer he þa gesælđa hæbbe — — — hwæt þæt đonne beoþ for lýtla sælþa Boe. 34. Hwæt þu wast þætte butan đisum tolum nan cýning his cræft ne mæȝ cýđan 60. to wurđien þenne dei þe is icleped sunne-dei. for of þam deie ure lauerd seolf seiđ OEH I 45. ec we understondeđ þet on sunne dei drihten cumeđ to demene al moncun. ibid.

b) Nû is tô witenne, þæt on đære forman geđêodnysse is se *a* lang on lêdensprâce — — — on đære ôđre geđêodnysse is se *e* lang — — — on đære đriddan geđêodnysse byđ se *e* lang AG 198. on is þat biforen his þroweunge he sat ofte and tahte wisdom þan þe him folgeden. ođer is þat bitwenen his þrowenge and his ariste he lai on his sepulcre OEH II 101.

c) Đeah nu se unrihtwisa cýning Neron hine gescýrpte mid eallum þam wlitegestum wædum, etc. Boe. 100.

d) forđam đam biđ witodlice god hold, þe biđ his hlaforde rihtlice hold Wu. 119.

e) forþæm ic ongite þætte eall þæt ðu me ær reahtest me reahte God ðurh þe Boe. 171, 172.

f) and mid þam ge habbaþ gecýþed þæt te æfter eowrum agnum dome ge doþ eow selfe wýrsan þonne eowre agne æhta Boe. 44. þæt te men weorþað swa upahafene for þam welam. þæt oft se eallra wyrresta and se eallra unweorþesta mon wenþ, etc. 46. and ælc mon wat þara ðe nu leofoþ þæt manegum cýninge onhwearfþ se anweald 102. and ich leue þat þurh soð scrifte sýnnes ben forgeuene OEH II 23.

More seldom do we meet with two introductory members independent of each other. In the following instance they belong to the types a) and b) (for other instances, see p. 116).

> Oðer is þat alse of on sede cumeð fele-felde westme alse of on eðeliche dede man shal understonden fele-felde. and michele mede OEH II 157.

As is shown by this instance, adverbs (or phrases) may be introductory when corresponding to the conjunction of another clause, dependent on the one in question (when these words stand next to each other, I have considered both as one conjunction: *ða ða, swa swa*, etc., see p. 17).

I give below some instances of a) where first-position does not occur. As for the others (especially d)—f)), I do not think it necessary to do so as nearly all subordinate clauses (at least of these types) show preverbal or postverbal position:

> þeah ðe nu þince þat her micel on ðis middangearde sie Boe. 232 (here there are two connective words one of which is to be placed after the subject according to what is said above this page). and sæde, þæt he þyder upp stigan wolde Wu. 99. and he ær gewarnod þe bet sy, þæt he þonne ðurh deofol

beswicen ne wyrđe 101. þeah hit gebyrige, þæt we þære yrmđe gebidan sculon and on þisum life earfođa adreogan ibid. wet (= as long as) we on þisse middelerd liuieñ OEH I 11. þos word he seide et sumtime toȝeines þet he walde þis lif forleten 145. Quođ strengđe hwen hit swa is 265. Ac on of alle nutten þat is man. he fet on two wise — — — and þeih he alle þing þus fede II 25. and þar- fore þe apostel on þos feawe wordes þe ich here forđ teaȝh 193.

Some of the above instances contain demonstrative phrases which properly speaking are not connective; for demonstrative words may point out also what is not directly spoken of, but what is immediately at hand in place or in thought. This fact may in some measure account for their position. And should we extend the function of connection to all those ideas which, as it were, stand forth to consciousness and which, in our modern languages, are designated by the definite article or otherwise, we might easily increase the number of instances in every page. This want of connection is still more a characteristic of the personal pronoun; hence its want of stress and its position (cf. p. 62). Indeed, it is something between a mere connective word and any other modifier, and it is natural, then, *that it should take a medial position, i. e., be preverbal* in a language, like Anglo-Saxon, where with a certain uniformity first-position, as well as end-position, was reserved for emphasis.

As for the frequency of the different cases of first-position in subordinate clauses, I have obtained the following numbers (indicating the single intr. members, except the pers. pron.).

As I have already said, there is occasionally some difficulty in classing instances in one or other of these groups: the sign — indicates in general that some instances may fall under a) or f). The numbers after + are instances belonging to ser. 1—2 (see p. 64), some of them also to 3—5, viz. those with more than one introductory word, but without other modifiers. All those instances amount to about 75. In very few of these (8) is there an infin. verb making up for a modifier and restoring, in some way, the sentence balance. But even in subordinate clauses, language has recourse to other ways of doing this, viz. by direct order of a short subj. and a long verb, inverted order of a long subj. and a short verb. This will be more closely studied in the next chapter.

I have thought it superfluous to give statistics for other positions than first-position because the numbers for the latter are here, as a rule, relatively small, and for the former so very large. But there is every reason for believing that the case f), as comprising nearly all other modifiers than some conjunctional and demonstrative words and phrases, must amount to a sum many times surpassing the total of those very modifiers (though perhaps in principal clauses, where first-position seems to be the natural position

	in OETs	Boe	Ma	Man	AG	PD	Wu	AT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a)	2—4+1	41+18	2—4	0—2+2	7—8+3	4+1	37+6	4—5+0—1	1+3	3	3+1	1	3+1	4—7	14—15	3+1
b)	4			1		3			1+1	0+1			1		2	1
c)	1															
d)	3	2				0—1										
e)	0+1	1	1			2		1						1		1
f)	0—2	54+21	6—8+2	2-4+1	2—3	5+4	26—27	0—1+0—1	7+3	2+1	4+1	2	8	10—12+3	1+2	1+1
							+6—8									

of connective words in general, the case f) is relatively still stronger). Now first-position in a) is somewhat inferior to that in f), but not so much as to correspond with the inferiority of the other positions in a) to those in f). The natural conclusion, then, will be that even in subordinate clauses, first-position of connective words is relatively, as well as absolutely (as in principal clauses), more frequent than first-position of other words.

The following scheme may serve as an illustration of the positions in declarative principal (= 1) and in subordinate clauses (= 2).

First position		Other positions	
a)	f)	a)	f)
		1.	
about 3200 purely connective, not counting the pers. pr.	about 400 nonconn., not counting the noun.	about 1250 purely conn., not counting the pers. pr.[1])	about 1050 nonconn., not counting the noun[1]).
		2.	
about 150 „ „	about 85 „ „	about 2300 „ [2])	about 2100 „ [2])

In Boe. all instances belonging to a) have purely connective words (conjunctional and demonstrative adverbs and demonstrative pronouns (these are only 3), in Wu. and OEH these words amount to $^2/_3$ of all (8, resp. 6 dem. pron.). The nouns, then, in these two texts are $^1/_3$ of them, but in f) they are $^2/_3$ in Boe., $^4/_5$ in Wu. and in OEH scarcely $^1/_2$. In other words: the nouns are introductory in subordinate clauses most often *when not connective*, cf. p. 54). They are often used without being counterbalanced by other

[1]) more exactly, about 900 short adverbs, of which the majority are connective, + about 300 dem. pron. and about 1050 long adverbs, of which the majority are non-connective.

[2]) more exactly, about 1950 short adverbs, of which most are connective, + about 300 dem. pron. and about 2100 long adverbs, of which most are not connective.

modifiers in the clause, whether connective or not. *In this last point Modern English has altered the case, for if in a principal clause we may find instances of connective introductory members not being corresponded to by other modifiers, we do so no longer in subordinate clauses. As for other words than nouns, Modern English scarcely allows their being placed at the beginning of such clauses* (cf. pp. 59, 66).

Before I conclude this chapter, I must add some more remarks. There are a number of clauses (not included in the above discussion) with an introductory personal pronoun. If in principal clauses this pronoun in first-position has some stress, I think it is here in almost all cases an unaccented word between the conjunctional, relative, or interrogative word and the subject, or predicate, at least when without a preposition. As a matter of fact, in many of these instances there are no other verbal modifiers (see p. 120).

> þa þa hine Cirus Pærsa cýning gefangen hæfde Boe. 22. þý ic nolde þæt unc beswice ænegu leas anlicnes for soþa gesælþa 134. þæt he hit na ne understande, þeah hit him man secge Wu. 101. and hu oft he (= se sunnandæg) wæs forboden þurh god sylfne and þurh his halgan, þæt him man on ne worhte 211. gif hire (emph.?) þonne forðsiđ getimige ær him 304. ant euch alswa of þe oþre wit þat onont him (emph.) ne schal nan un-þeaw cumen iN OEH I 249.

This unaccented position of the personal pronoun in principal clauses I think we shall only find after another introductory word (an inst. p. 62). It is, however, not only personal pronouns that become unaccented in first-position in subordinate clauses. Some adverbs even, especially *nu* and *þonne* (of which Boe. in this position frequently makes use) are weak, and have the meaning 'then', 'consequently', just

as sometimes happens in principal clauses between the subject and the predicate.

> Ac gif ðe nu þæt swa swiþe gedrefed and geunrotsad hæfþ Boe. 28. Gif nu eall þises middaneardes wela come to anum men. hu ne wæron þonne ealle oþre men wædlan butan anum 38. Nu þonne nu (= since, then,) ælc gesceaft onscunað þæt þæt hire wiþerweard biđ 56. Gif hine þonne ýfel mon hæfþ ibid.

If, on the one hand, we find numerous Anglo-Saxon instances of heavy openings of the clause, not always to be imitated in Modern English, we meet, on the other, with weak beginnings which have fallen into disuse as well — I mean the personal pronoun. We then see that first-position occasionally had no other function than that of being a position like those within the clause, provided the word in question was not the first word of a clause (or a period).

Subordinate clauses with first-position have, as a rule, long subjects. Substantive clauses (introduced by *þæt*) and causal clauses are here more numerous than others (Boe. and Wu. have more of the former, OEH more of the latter, Ma., about as many of each). In Ma. half the number of subordinate clauses with first-position have a short subject.

How is it that first-position is relatively less frequent in subordinate than in principal clauses? Would it be strange to suggest the conjunction being the cause of this? I have said (p. 61) that in principal clauses two words may be connective, or half-connective, but that they do not always both of them take the place before the subject and predicate; the one will, as it were, supplant the other. Besides, this arrangement of more than one member, of whatever kind it be, in first-position is rather rare. Now, the conjunction is a connective word; and, as we shall not very

often find an introductory word after *and, ac, but*, neither shall we do so after a subordinating conjunction. It does not matter which case is the more frequent, for *and, ac, but (soðlice, witoðlice,* occasionally also *ða)* have so degraded in meaning as to be either superfluous, or, if employed, are scarcely counted [1]). The subordinating conjunction cannot be left out in this way, and, even if it is to be understood from a preceding clause, there still remains a feeling of connection, or subordination. Causal clauses are, as we shall see, most of all in resemblance with the principal ones, and in causal clauses we also find strikingly numerous instances of first-position. Thus it is possible that *with the differentiation of word-order, first-position has been considered a mark of independence.*

In Modern English, first-position in subordinate clauses has acquired a euphonic function, that of being a variation, or of preventing modifiers from coming together at the end of the clause. Of course it may have this function in principal clauses too, but here we are so accustomed to meeting with a connective member in first-position that it does not strike us at all. Further, it is especially before a personal pronoun as a subject that we have to note the case, because

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[1]) Cf: on sunnandæg wæron englas gesceapene. and on sunnandæg reste Noes earce on þære dune, þe Armenia hatte, æfter ðam miclan flode. on sunnandæg lædde drihten his folc of Egyptum — — — on sunnandæg let se hælend rinan mannan — — — on sunnandæg is seo acennednes, — — — and on sunnandæg he asende his apostolum þone halgan gast on fyres ansyne. and on sunnandæg gesæt se hælend on þa swiðran healfe þæs heah fæder Wu. 230. Otherwise *and* is rarer in such cases in Wu., but, on the contrary, very frequent in clauses without a subject as well as in those beginning with one; see, for instance pp. 200 ff., where it is repeated with a monotony sharply contrasting with the variation of word-order, and quite incompatible with good style according to our ideas; the same may be said about OEH.

in such clauses preverbal position is not used to the same extent as after another subject. This feature perhaps seems most striking when the modifier is a participle or a whole clause: Cf.: 'Of this disaster he knew nothing, when on the following morning he crossed the Severn' Hist. Biogr. 31. 'Edward, however, had learned much since the day when in hot haste he galloped after the Londoners' 30. 'It was strange to myself that, while I read these details, I continued rather to sympathise with Mr. Huddlestone than with his victims' The Pav. 33; for instances with participles, see the grammars of Mathesius p. 132, Afzelius p. 140, Elfstrand pp. 231, 232. Instances of long introductory words in a subordinate clause can scarcely be found when no modifiers follow the verb, but they are present in principal clauses (p. 60); cf. 'at that moment he arrived', but 'as he arrived at that moment'. The cause is, as I have said above, there being a sufficient connection in the subordinate clause itself. *This is the only difference, as to word-order, between a subordinate and principal clause in Modern English.* On the other hand, we might find instances of first-position in subordinate clauses where it would not be so good an arrangement in a principal clause, because of the introductory word not being sufficiently strong or connective for such a clause. *In other words, first-position is not so emphatic in subordinate clauses as in principal* (cf. p. 120). Connective members are not so convenient here because of connection being already implied in the clauses themselves; and as this kind of first-position in subordinate clauses is the most natural, the generally weak beginning (cf. p. 41) may have led to excluding emphatic members before the subject and predicate if these members are not counterbalanced by emphatic modifiers at the end. For the same reason a non-connective member may be more sure of first-position in subordinate clauses

than in principal (especially if it is of the type f) cf. pp. 69, 70). And here I think I agree with Delbrück, when he assures us that in the old Indo-European languages the verb had a stronger stress in the former clauses, which caused its being kept at the end after the differentiation. If the calculation is right (Knight p. 195) that personal pronouns were more frequent in subordinate clauses than in others, we at once understand how it came to pass that the verb in such clauses retained end-position better: it acquired the function of outweighing the emphasis at the beginning. The relative word, or conjunction, may originally have been more emphatic than now, unless Hermann is wrong in his theory that parataxis is older than hypotaxis. In all probability, however, these words were once demonstrative (which development we can see in our modern languages), and consequently emphatic. The rough scheme of a principal clause of that time would be: subject—heavy modifier—relatively weak verb; that of a subordinate clause: introductory member—subject—weak modifier—relatively strong verb. If this disproportionate frequency of personal pronouns in subordinate clauses had not been, we could not explain the series of movements that took place: the sentence balance (princ. cl. $\times - \cup$, sub. cl. $- \times \cup -$) brought on a uniformity of rhythm (princ. cl. $\times \cup -$; see p. 51) by changing the word-order in principal clauses. Delbrück thinks that the different stress of the two kinds of clauses depends on their different nature, in so much as principal clauses imply the idea of something concluded in opposition to the others. This theory seems to depend on the arrangement of the clauses in a period: it is true if, as a rule, the subordinate clauses preceded the principal; otherwise, it is not. However that may be, we conceive from the above that the verb got a stronger stress in the former, and that

differentiation between the clauses was only an attempt towards making the sentence-rhythm more uniform by placing the heaviest member of a principal clause, viz. a modifying noun, at the end. Thus end-position became almost universally emphatic. If any *real* difference in stress has existed between the verbs in different clauses, and not one depending on the different modifiers standing next to it, it need not be primitive, and it has disappeared in course of time; for I do not think that in Modern English there can be established any gradation in this respect.

As the subordinating conjunctions and relative words weakened in stress, subordinate clauses acquired much the same rhythm at their beginning as principal ones without introductory words. Then it was no longer so necessary to avoid a weak member at the end, for it corresponded to a weak beginning. On the contrary, it was the principal clauses now which very often required an emphatic conclusion, viz. those beginning with an introductory word. Thus rhythmical considerations, together with syntactical analogy (p. 16) led to the carrying out of the postverbal order even in subordinate clauses. *In short, a word-order has been established with consideration to the length and outer appearance of the clause, as well as on the foundation of its syntactical nature* (as also partly in the German language).

III. Other clauses.

As for other clauses, I refer readers to Chapter III. There are about 125 clauses of command or wishing with introductory members, but only 21 of these belong to ser. 1—4 (p. 64), and at least 9 of the 21 have a purely connective word as introductory member. There seems to be no overcharging of the beginning of these clauses at

the expense of the end. — Interrogative and exclamative clauses begin with their interrogative words.

Few of these three kinds of clauses have more than one introductory member; they are almost exclusively some clauses of command.

In instances without a subj., or with a clause, an infinite verb, or a rel., or interr. pron. as subj., the modifiers which commence the clause are, at most, half introductory. They are discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

Subject and Finite Verb.

I. Principal declarative clauses.

A. One introductory member [1]).

In table 3 I put down instances from the various texts only when two opposite types amount at least to the figure 5. Ao = an acc. obj.; Do = a dat. obj.; Pr. = a pred. compl.; pN = a prepositional phrase, containing a noun; P = a pers. pr. without prep.; pP = a pers. pr. with prep.; D, pD = a dem. pr. without, resp. with prep.

I = a long introductory member and a long subj.
II = „ „ „ „ „ „ short „
III = „ short „ „ „ „ long „
IV = „ „ „ „ „ „ short „

[1]) or more, when a clause determining the preceding separates this or these from the last.

only 4, in I 3 and III 3 each. In spite of this we at once perceive the rule which prevails: direct order in II and IV, inverted order in I and III. I will point out some of the most striking facts.

There has scarcely been established any distinction, in this question, between connective and non-connective words, except conj. adv., in which direct order prevails (in III, however, there is fluctuation). *þonne* and *þa* have, as a rule, a fairly decided inverted order. One is inclined to believe that the figure 86 in I 1 AG contains mostly connective cases, but néither of them (perhaps except those in pp. 16 and 120) is purely connective, but they belong to b (p. 56), or are not connective at all; the figure 20 II 1 AG contains mostly non-connective cases. On looking at D and pD we find them, too, following the above rule. This rule is observed also in the zero-cases with 4, where there are only 7 exceptions, 4 with *þonne*, *þa*, 1 with conjunctional adv., in the same direction as indicated above.

As most of all those ratios are zero-cases, we cannot establish any gradation as to the inverting force of the introductory members, except *þonne, þa,* long conj. adv. and *hwæt. We simply infer that these former, as a rule, caused inversion, and that in Anglo-Saxon the latter did not; other introductory words leaving this question to be decided by different circumstances.*

b) *Influence of the verb.*

The numerous zero-cases do not allow us to draw important conclusions as to this influence. The few other cases are generally too insignificant. I point out the following which tend to show that inversion is greatest in ser. 2, least in ser. 3: *þonne* I Wu., II Boe., AG; *þa* IV Boe. (? 3 : 270 —0 : 10), Mod. adv. III 7, pN I 7, (2 cases), pD III Boe.,

AG (? 0 : 8, 0 : 35); they are in correspondence with the exceptions: *þonne* II 1, *þa* IV Wu., pN I AG (? 0 : 86—0 : 6 —0 : 5), II Boe., AG (? 25 : 0—5 : 0—6 : 0). The question, then, must be left almost undecided, and other influences must be looked for.

c) *Influence of a modifier following the finite verb.*

The case is almost the same here. We should expect to find inversion more frequent when no modifier, or at least only a short one, follows the verb. This is scarcely shown by the ratios in *þa* III 1 Boe. (? 0 : 47—0 : 14), 1, IV 1 Boe. (? 3 : 270—0 : 17), Ma. (0 : 63—1 : 41), Conj. adv. I 1 Ma. (insignificant), *þere* III 1 Wu. (? 0 : 23 —0 : 7), Ao. II 1 AG (? 25 : 0—5 : 0), pN I 1 7, II 3 Wu., II 1 Wu. (? 6 : 0—13 : 0), 7 (? 7 : 0—12 : 0), P IV 1 AG (? 14 : 0—5 : 0), D III 2 Boe. (? 0 : 36—0 : 5), IV 1 Boe. (? 10 : 0—5 : 0), pD IV 1 Boe. (? 6 : 0—13 : 0), 4 Boe. (? 7 : 0—12 : 0). The exceptions are *þonne* I 1 Wu., II 1 Boe., 3 Boe. (? 0 : 8—1 : 21), *þa* IV 1 Ma. (1 : 41—1 : 26). We can scarcely lay down any rule on account of the above 11 zero-cases. Nor must we speak of any decided influence of the postverbal modifier.

d) *Influence of the subject.*

This influence, then, is the only one we have recourse to when we wish to explain the difference in word-order after an introductory member. The rule is already mentioned, and it implies that a personal pronoun (except after *þonne* and *þa*) keeps its place before the finite verb, while another subject does not. Besides some dubious cases, the exceptions are few: Conj. adv. I (6 inst.), Ao. I (1 inst.), pN I (3 indifferent inst.), and the following with a demonstrative pronoun as subject: Mod. adv. II 1 AG, Conj. adv. IV 2

Boe., *here* IV 2 AG, Pr. II 2 AG, and pN II 1 AG; we see that this pronoun is inverted because of its stress in the same cases as a substantive, consequently not after *hwæt* (scarcely to be considered an introductory member; it never appears in the middle of the clause).

It ought to be added that a collective table, including all equivalent instances from the different texts in the same number, somewhat changes the appearance of the ratios. A glance at the above table will persuade us that the texts treat their instances in much the same way (striking exceptions are to be found in *þa* IV and especially pN I, where Wu. shows itself hesitating in choice between the two types, and 1 has the direct order prevailing). A summing up of the instances, therefore, will not be so misleading as to an insight into the word-order of the respective texts as otherwise would be the case. Pr. is then proved to cause more inversion than pN, and pN more than Ao 1, except in II 1 with a modifier, where the case is vice versa. The long adv. of indef. time has less inverting force than Ao in I, a somewhat greater (in 1 without, and in 3 with modifiers) or as great (in 1 with, and in 3 without modifiers) in II. The long modal adv. has more inverting force than Ao. in I 1, II 1 without, and II 3 with modifiers, much the same in II 1 with, and II 3 without modifiers, a less in I 1 with modifiers. Here also the long conj. adv. shows a marked tendency not to invert the order. Of the short modifiers, pD and D cause inversion most frequently, the conj. adv. and the adv. of indef. t., most rarely (these latter have in III 1 a prevailing direct order). P has in 1

and 3 a prevailing inverted order[1]); as for ser. 2, this order is the strongest with all modifiers; in IV, however, D and pD compete with and surpass the above mentioned adv. in direct order even in ser. 2 and 3. Indeed, this order being the most frequent with all modifiers (except *þa*), all can be reduced to the same level (except adv. of def. t. in 1 and 3 with modifiers).

As for the influence of the verb, it generally seems as if inversion were most frequent in ser. 2; most rare in ser. 3; however, when there are other modifiers, Indef. t., Mod. adv., Adv. C., pN in I, Indef. t., Mod. adv. in II have more inversion in ser. 3 than in 1, Conj. adv. in I and II and pN in II, most inversion in 3 of all series; in Adv. C. and Ao. in II this series shows much the same ratios as series 1; in III we find the following exceptions to the above rule: *þere*, Conj. adv., Adv. of def. t., P, D, and D have more inversion in ser. 3 than in 1 with other modifiers; in IV Conj. adv. and pD have more inversion in ser. 3 than in 1, D, most inversion in 3 of all series; Adv. of indef. and def. t. show almost the same ratios in 1 and 3; in Modal adv., ser. 3 has very rarely inverted order, ser. 1 and 2 are on the same level; all this is said about instances with modifiers within the clause. When there are none, the above rule is followed, or the cases are too insignificant to be discussed; in IV Mod. adv., ser. 3 has most, ser. 1, least inversion. On the whole, then, ser. 2 causes more inversion than the other two, these being too fluctuating to allow of any gradation between them.

By this collective calculation of the instances we shall find the tendency alluded to p. 81 c) more marked. In-

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[1]) consequently a proof that P in first-position generally has some stress (cf. p. 61).

deed, besides some zero-cases and dubious cases, which admit of no gradation, the only exceptions are: in I Conj. adv. 3, in II Ao. 1, pN 3, in IV Mod. adv. 1, D 1, where it is vice versa; in II Pr. 2, III P 3, and pD 3, where the ratios are much the same.

Inversion is marked in all representative cases in I (except Indef. t. 1, Mod adv. 1, Conj. adv. 1, 2, and Ao. 3 with prevailing direct order; Indef. t. 3, Conj. adv. 3, and Ao. 3 with fluctuation [1]) and III (except Conj. adv. 1, with prev. direct order; *þere* 1, Conj. adv. 2, 3, Indef. t. 2, Def. t. 1, Mod. adv. 3, D 1 with fluctuation), while, on the contrary, there is direct order in II and IV, except *þonne* and *þa*.

I give below some instances with one introductory member. In compliance with the rules are the following:

I. gef we þonne, men, — — — þonne magon æghweþer ge us heofona rices eadignesse geearnjan Wu. 225. þenne beoð þine daȝes ilenged mid muchele blisse in eorðan OEH I 13. ðyder sculan mannslagan, and ðider sculan mannswican Wu. 111. Alswa doð monie of þas wimmen OEH I 53. and syððan wyrð se ende swa raðe, swa þæt god wile Wu. 89. and egeslice spæc Sanctus Gregorius be ðam 67. Soðlice heofona rice ys gelic þam híredes ealdre Ma. 158. witodlice þa weardas wæron afyrhte 242. þâ ðriddan getâcnunge hæfð deponens verbum AG 122. ûrum cildum stent ege fram mê 123. clæne wæs þeos eorðe on hyre frumsceafte Wu. 92. and werdre tîde ys amans lufigende AG 136. Sunnedei smat Moyses þene stan ine þe wastine OEH I 141. on scortne ux geendjaþ þâs naman AG 72. Bi þam fure (connective) cweð þe helende OEH I 97.

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[1]) These exceptions comprise only 1 case in every series.

II. ðonne færð he to Hierusalem þære burh mid miclum þrymme to ðan, þæt etc. Wu. 194. þenne maȝe we beon godes leorning knichtes OEH I 149. and eallswâ hî gâð menigfealdlîce and to ælcum cynne AG 251 Alra erest þu scalt gan to scrifte OEH I 37. yfele wê râ̂dað AG 9. Soðlice ic secge eow Ma. 138. Soðlice he walde seggen OEH I 35. Soþ ðu seȝst Boe. 164. þos word (connective) he seide et sumtime OEH I 145. Swilcne lauerd (connective) we aȝen to dreden 21. ðam þe he mycel to forlæt, myceles (genitive-object) he wyle hine manjan Wu. 148. and his heouenlic federe he hersumede to ða deðe OEH I 109. Strang he his and michti 233. hwilum hit cýmð. on mid wæten. PD 94. ðe þridde dei he a-ros from deaðe to liue OEH 217. and on sunnandæg he asænde his apostolum þone halgan gast on fyres ansyne Wu 230.

Note the following instances with a demonstrative pronoun as subject: ealswa gâð ðâs AG 25. ôðer is ðis, ôðer is word ago ic do AG 228.

III. Ða andsworode þæt Mod þære Gesceadwisnesse and cwæð Boe. 40. þa wæs agan geargerimes fram þam timan, þe Adam, etc. Wu. 15. and ða het æt nyhstan se casere feccan þæne Symon to him Wu. 99. Swa doð eac wudu fuȝlas Boe. 88. Gyt synd manega ôðre word of ôðrum wordum AG 214 (cf. below). Eft is oþer wise PD 144. Eft is oþer wise be þon ibid. (cf. below). Nû cumað eft naman of wordum AG 215. nu biþ swyðe raðe Antecristes tima Wu. 94. þær is ealra yrmða gehwylc and ealra deofla geþring ibid. ðær is êce bryne grimme gemencged ibid. him gelimpþ species AG 92. and hyre wæs myrge on hyre mode þurh þæt Wu. 152. and heom wearð hyll gegearwod 8. and of hem seiþ þe holie boc OEH II 75. and on hem wuneð

þe deuel. bi ure louerd ihesu cristes leue 37. and þǽra sind fêower æfter Priscianes tǽcinge AG 129. and ðy is fela yfela and mistlicra gelimpa wide mid mannum Wu. 91. forþam went nu fulneah eall moncýn on tweonunga Boe. 8. Hwæt ealle men witon þæt se Seneca, etc. Boe. 104.

Note the following instances with a conjunctional adv. and an adv. of indef. t. belonging to ser. 1. *and eac þa oþre gesceafta. ma wilniaþ ðæs þe hi wilniaþ for gecýnde ðonne for willan Boe. 152. and eft þe ilca apostel seiđ* OEH I 125.

IV. Ða cwæð he Boe. 126. ða ongan he eft singan 154. þa wearð heo þurh haligne gast on innoðe geeacnod Wu. 22. swa (properly belonging to doþ) ic wat þæt hie doþ Boe. 40. Swa þu gesceope ða saule þæt, etc. 132. Swa hit is swa þu segst 158. wel hê dêđ AG 241. and þeah (= though) hit nu hefig seo and wiþerweard. þeah hit biþ gesælþ Boe. 32. þeah (though) heo ofer midne dæg onsige and lute to þære eorþan. eft heo secþ hire gecynde 88. Siþþan (= Afterwards) we hit hataþ wýrd. sýððan (= when) hit geworht biþ. ær (= formerly) hit wæs Godes foreþonc and his foretiohhung 220. Nu þu eart scýldigra þonne we 24. nu, leofan men, nu we willað læran godes þeowas ærest, þæt, etc. Wu. 179. and þær ic þrowade for eow Wu. 230. ac her we seien eow of þese derke wedes OEH II 11. þê ic lufige AG 120. þê ic sylle þancunga 95. To him we leggeđ ure riht eare OEH II 199. and ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan OETs 175. þý ic eom swiþe ungemetlice ofwundrod Boe 40. forþam hit biđ. (= Hence it is) þæt te nan man, etc. 50. after þat he býđ hæl PD 94. Hwæt hi wilnodon begen eallon mægene þæt, etc. Boe. 104. Hwæt þæt is wundorlic þæt, etc. 118.

I now give some instances of the exceptions:

I. þannum plato and aristotiles þa gelæredusþan awrýtýna. þas æfter fýlígdun PD 82. ðonne anes gehwylces mannes dæda cyðað, hwylce clǽne beoð, hwylce fûle Wu. 244. Soðlice þæt þe asáwen is on þornum. þæt is se þe þæt wurd gehyrþ and þonne eornfullness þisses worulde and leasung þissa woruld-welena forþrysmiaþ þæt wurd Ma. 110. alswo hure helende is almihtin god. and nis non oðer bute he OEH II 109. Eft-sone godes word is icleoped sed OEH I 133. and þær-rihte ðæs temples wah-ryft wearð tosliten on tewgen dælas Ma. 236. and uneaþe ænig (= scarcely any one, un. belonging to the subject and not being introductory properly speaking) com to ende þære spræce Boe 216. ge furþum (= and moreover) an ýfel man biđ hvilum ungeþwære him selfum 230. ðas tyn beboda god sylf gedihte Wu. 66. Eadwerd man forrædde and syððan acwealde and æfter þam forbærnde, and Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde. and goðsibbas and godbearn to fela man forspilde wide gynd þas þeode 160. and ðam sylfan cynne god sylf sette lage 13. wel wurð wunne bę of wurðshipe OEH II 29 (such an instance with a predicative complement as an introductory member not causing inverted order is very rare; there are not 10 instances of this kind in all the texts examined). hwilum þæt leohte fýr and þæt beorhte uþ gewit Boe. 234. mid eal swylcan laran Antecrist cweməð Wu. 56. of ðyson eahta deofles cræftan ealle unþeawas up aspringað 68.

II. and þonne (= therefore) he tiohhaþ þæt he sie swiþe gesælig Boe. 84. þan hýt vínð (= then it gets the better; Cockayne translates 'þan' with 'then', however it is quite possible that it is here a temporal conj.)

PD 104. hý hero wurtruma forleataþ: þanne swartiged hý ibid. and if we þus us solue willeliche pineð: þenne maȝe we beon godes leorning knichtes. þenne we maȝe him folege (consequently direct order only for the sake of variation) OEH I 149. longe habbe ich on þe wuned OEH II 183. Swiche teares shedden hie on þis reuliche wei 147. gif hie ne gestrionen oðða him sylfum ælles hwæt sęle, æfter hiora dege ann ic his freoðomundu OETs 448.

III. hwæt, þa Sanctus Petrus beseah rađe æfter þam up to þam lyfte Wu. 100. swa mon ma swincþ. swa mon maran mede onfehþ (the more — the greater; the latter clause þerhaps a substantive clause depending on 'and eft se cwide') Boe. 248. þus man híne sceal læcníe PD 120. þeah se leasa wena and sio rædelse þara dýsigena monna tiohhie þæt, etc. Boe. 98. And oft mann smeaþ, etc. PD 104. and eft þet writ cweð OEH I 113. A nu mon ledes him forð to munte caluarie to þe cwalm stowe OEH I 283. Nu min herte mai to breke ibid. (This order after 'nu' varies with the inverted after the same word in other instances in the same page) and þær man wacað ealles to oft swyðor on unnyt Wu. 279. hine man bær, oð he sylf gân mihte Wu. 17. and us stalu and cwalu, hôl and hete and ripera reaflac derede swiðe þearle 129. and us mon þanne nenigre deda grimlicor ne mengað, þanne þæs seternesdeges weorces 225. (it is to be supposed that in instances with an introductory personal pronoun followed by direct order, the stress on the pronoun is weaker than when it causes inversion, cf. p. 83). and of hem þe holie boc specð and seið OEH II 73. Ðis man gerædde, da se micela here com to lande Wu. 180. Ðis mon sceall rede ofer drence OETs 176. and æfter

þan ealle þa ædran flapaƀ PD 120. for ðý mon cwiþ be sumum gode þæt etc. Boe. 134.

IV. and þo he dide alse þe holi boc seiƀ OEH II 113. þa (= at that time on that occasion, not = at this very moment) he gemacode eac þurh drycræft, þæt hy agunnon, swylce hy cwice wæron Wu. 98. Ac ða (= at that time) he com ærest to Parþum Boe. 64. Ða he cwæƀ (varying with several Ða cwæƀ ic, Ða cwæƀ he in the same þage) 120. þo (= afterwards) he steah to heuene OEH II 23. and ða (= at that time) hit wæs on þeode for gode and for worulde wislic and weorðlic, þa (= when) man riht lufode Wu. 168 Ac sona swa hi heora Mod awendaþ from gode. swa weorþaþ he ablende mid unwisdome Boe. 242. and ȝet mai ich sare for hare duntes drede OEH I 275. Nu wundrie ic þæs hwy he geþafige, etc. Boe. 244. Bote uu mai i seggen wiƀ þe salmewrihte OEH I 285. þis haue i writen þe for þi þat, etc. 287.

Note also the direct order in the following clause with a demonstrative pronoun as subject: *and him þat sore reu* OEH II 7.

The exceptions, rather numerous when the subject is an accented word, so that here we can really speak about a fluctuation, are very few when the subject is a personal pronoun. In many of the above exceptions we are able to perceive some reason for the irregular position: the introductory word possessing two significations, differentiation in word-order is used to distinguish them *(þa)*, or the irregular order is used for the sake of variation ('cross-order').

Table 3 shows us that in I 1 and III 1 there is some hesitation in the choice between the types. A collective table would show us that in II 2 and IV 2 there is, if not any fluctuation, at least not so marked a superiority of the

one type. This is in harmony with what I have said p. 83 about the influence of the verb. Besides this influence, we have to take into consideration that of the subject itself, and, in some smaller degree, that of the introductory member. We have seen that as to the latter influence there are three sets of modifiers: 1) such as positively caused inversion *(þonne, þa),* 2) such as preferred a direct order after them (long conjunctional adverbs, *hwæt),* and 3) such as are almost neutral, i. e. influencing word-order, not unconditionally, but by means of the subject. There is no great difficulty in perceiving the reason for this distinction. *þonne* and *þa* are both strong and felt as members of the following clause, *swaþeah, soðliche, witodlice, þeahhwedere, furðum, hwæðer, swelce, oþertwega,* etc., and *hwæt* may be, and are, often strong, but do not belong so intimately to the following verb, i. e. do not modify it as to time, place, etc. Among the others there is some gradation, too, as we have seen, Pr, pN, pD, and D stand next to *þonne, þa.* Other members, e. g. Ao, may be as strong as to stress but not as to the connection with the verb. This way of explaining the general fact, or the great features, does not, however, suffice in every detail, and analogy seems already to break through and begin its levelling work. But I cannot see that a better explanation has been given, for the theory of the pause after the introductory member preventing inversion (p. 11) may agree with what I have mentioned above, but it does not tell us why and when the pause must be there, or may be absent. However this may be, pD, Pr, pN, when standing within the clause, most decidedly of all prefer the position after the finite verb. On the other hand, the conjunctional adverbs (consequently also *þonne* when one) (see p. 153), are very often preverbal. I think, therefore, that the same agencies (rhythm and syn-

tactical connection) are at work upon the position of the subj. as well as upon the position of the modifier.

This being admitted, we obtain the following schemes (almost coinciding with the sections of the table) for the beginning of a principal declarative clause with introductory member:

I strong introd. m. — finite v. — strong s. = ⏑ × ⏑,
II strong introd. m. — finite v. — weak s. = ⏑ × ∪,
III strong introd. m. — weak s. — finite v. = ⏑ ∪ ×́,
IV weak introd. m. — finite v. — strong s. = ∪ × ⏑,
V weak introd. m. — weak s. — finite v. = ∪ ∪ ×́.

It is easily understood that, supposing rhythm to be influencing word-order, the fluctuation must be somewhat greater in I and IV when the verb is strong (i. e. a stress-verb), than when it is weak (= an auxiliary), for the second and third members have then almost the same strength. In II and V the fluctuation, or whatever we may call it, must take place when the verb is weak (cf. p. 90).

In the last place comes the influence of a following modifier. Now in my second Chapter I have pointed out the existence of a sentence-balance; different, it is true, from time to time, but at all events, a fact. I have said that this harmony has developed in course of time, and showed that Anglo-Saxon could surcharge the beginning of a clause without making up for it with heavy modifiers at the end, a thing which Modern English cannot do. But I suggested at the same time, that language had still other means of restoring sentence-balance, viz. the arrangement of the words which follow. Connective members may, however, begin the clause without being outweighed at the end. This may account for the influence of the following modifier being not so marked after *þonne, þa.* But even substantive members are mostly connective when intro-

ductory. In spite of this, these members somewhat prevent inversion in I and consequently affect the scheme while they favour the scheme III very decidedly. The variety ⊥ ⊥ × ⊥ can certainly not be explained by calling it a means of restoring sentence-balance, for this is sufficiently provided for in I. We had better bring in rhythm, properly speaking, i. e. the change between strong and weak places in the clause, as the cause. The weak place is here the verb, even though a stress-verb (cf. p. 53) when the following modifier is strong, or when there are more than one, making up for a strong. The same may be said about ⊥ ∪ ×́ ⊥, for a heavy end here being formed by the following modifier(s), we might as well expect ⊥ ×́ ∪ ⊥. It is to be noted that ⊥ ⊥ × ⊥ is only a variety, more common, it is true, than ⊥ ⊥ ×, but more rare than ⊥ × ⊥ 4, but that ⊥ ∪ ×́ ⊥, is not. We at once perceive what these two last types have in common: the three accentuated places with the unaccented second place.

On surveyning the influences of the introd. modifiers we shall find that *þonne* and *þa* form the first two schemes; other long introd. modifiers and the short demonstrative, the first, the variety of this, and the third; other short introd. modifiers (especially pers. pronouns without preposition) give rise to the fourth, with a variety ∪ ⊥ × — (somewhat more common than ∪ ⊥ ×), and the fifth. It is not more difficult to see the resemblance between IV and V than that between I and III: the two unaccentuated places followed by an accentuated third.

The result obtained by this discussion is: *As far as euphony is concerned, Anglo-Saxon principal declarative clauses show two head-types at their beginning: A* ⊥ ∪ ⊥ *(= I and III) and B* ∪ ∪ ⊥ *(= IV and V), the type* ⊥ ∪ ∪ *(= II) being reserved for other purposes (emphasis, connection).*

There are some instances with an infinite verb as the only introductory member: a part. with direct order and a long subj.: OEH I 47; with direct order and a short subj.: Ma. 104 (2), 108, AG 135, 151 (these five with stress-verbs), OEH I 277, 285; with inversion and such a subj. I 275; an inf. with direct order and a short subj.: AT 21: OEH I 213, 269, 271 (2), 273 (2), II 61.

In the above discussion I have not included a number of instances with modifiers preceding the verb when this is not followed by such. The reason for this proceeding is, of course, that the corresponding inverted type would give instances with more than one introductory member, which are to be treated of here below.

B. Two or more introductory members.

A table here made on the same principles as that given above must, however, be somewhat modified on account of the instances being too few. The minimal number is here 4, and I bring together all instances with another long introductory member immediately before the subject or the verb than *þonne* and a long conjunctional adverb, and also all instances with another short introd. member than *þa* in the same position. Then I level instances belonging to ser. 1, 2 and 3; lastly I add the above-mentioned instances with direct order and modifiers between the subject and finite verb to those with direct order and no such modifiers. [1]) It may be doubtful whether the first

[1]) Strictly speaking I ought to have added instances with modifiers before as well as after the verb, to the instances in the third line, but being in all our texts not so many as 150, only part of which could be included here, they will not much affect the result. They are included in the preceding table.

or the last introductory member influences word-order; I have chosen the last introd. member though there will arise a little inconsequence from this by its obliging me to consider the last introd. member in instances with preverbal modifiers as the important one. Very often it is not this, but the preverbal one that has the greatest inverting force. However, by levelling the long modifiers on the one hand, and the short on the other, this inconvenience will be of less importance.

Of course when two modifiers are co-ordinated (e. g. 'oft and gelome') or when one of them apparently determines the other (e. g. 'swiđe oft') both will be considered as one (long) modifier, and are then included in the preceding pages.

TABLE 4.

	þonne		Conj. adv.		Other long introd. member				
	Ma	AG	Ma	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7
I.		1 3		3 2 5	4 8 2 7	(4) 4 (4) 4	12 7 6 10	3 2' 2 2' (6)	6 2 5 2
II.			6	16 13	21 *1* *1* 14	(5)	13 12 (2) (2)	10 5' 1' 6 7'	14 (5)
III.	5			4 1 5 6	3 (2) 8 (4) (4) (1)	(4)	16 9 5 11	1 3' 5 1'	
IV.				16 *2*			8 *4*	5	4

þa Other short introd. member.

It is obvious that this roughly-sketched table cannot fully enable us to penetrate into details. It is enough, however, to show us a) the positive inversion after *þa*, b) the fluctuation in I and III, the positive direct order in II and IV. As for the texts, we see that Boe. and Wu. prefer direct order more than do other texts; in Wu. I the numbers 6, 10 include 3, resp. 3 inst. with another verb than an auxiliary, and in Wu. III the numbers 5, 11 contain 4, resp. 3, such instances. It should be added that the striking preponderance of direct order in this text in instances belonging to the first two lines in opposition to the fluctuation in the third and fourth is partly accounted for by the exclusion of such instances as are mentioned in the note p. 93.

I now proceed to enter into some details of these instances. The introductory members may modify (without determining, properly speaking) one another. The sign † indicates that there are no other modifiers in the example:

with direct order and a long subject: in Ma.: *(soðlice), ða sona, from* (prep. denoting time) *oð þis, sona æfter* (prep. denoting time); in Wu.: *nu raðe (P), ju geara;* in OEH I: *ða ȝet;* in 7: *ȝet þanne.*

with inversion of a long subject: in Ma.: *ða æt nyhstan, hrædlice þa;* in Wu.: *oft ær* (prep. denoting time), *LXX wintra siððan on an, ðonne on* (prep. denoting time), *ðonne sona for oft, raðe æfter þam, eft ymbe lytel, þa ymbe lytel þa, þa on* (prep. denoting time) *þa;* in AT: *nu to dæg; ða Adv. C* denoting time, *ða æfter* (prep. denoting time) *ða, ða færinga (ðar);* in OEH 2: *ða siððan.*

with direct order and a short subject[1]: in Boe.: *nu on last, nu ȝet;* in Ma: *ða embe* (prep. denoting time), *þonne on* (prep. denoting time); in Wu.: *ðonne eac æfter þisum;*

[1]) Here, as otherwise, this subject is almost exclusively a pers. pron.

eft on ær (both prep. denoting time), *ða Adv. C.* denoting time; in AT and 1 (several instances): *ða ȝet;* in 1: *eft togenes* (prep. denoting time); in 2: *eft on* (prep. denoting time), *ða on, ða fram* (both prep. denoting time).

with inversion of a short subject: in OETs: *ða æfter* (prep. denoting time), *ða færinga;* in Ma: *þonne sona;* in PD: *þonne amorgen, þanne ærest;* in Wu: *þonne hwilum;* in AT: *ða Adv. C.* denoting time, *ða færinga;* in OEH 2: *ða siððan.*

Of the above combinations, all of them expressions of time, it is those containing *þa, þonne* with direct order that interest us. We can guess that *ða ȝet* is almost felt as a conjunctional adverb, or an adverb of indefinite time = still, and that *ðonne* in *ðonne eac æfter þisum* must lose some of its influence upon the order. We also find expressions where *þa* and *þonne*, in order to prevent their being forgotten or weakened in force, are repeated after the following modifier. As for the other combinations, there is at least as great a probability that it is the last introductory member that influences word-order as that it is one of the preceding.

In the following cases there is also some connection between the introductory members: with direct order and a long subject: in Boe. (several instances), Man. and 1: *swa eac* (cf. below); in PD: *þurh ærest, ærest þurh* (*ærest* modifies *þurh* in both cases), *hwilum of;* in AT: *eac swilce;* with inversion and such a subject: in Ma.: *efne þa*, in PD: *hwilum þurh (P)*, in Wu. *æfre swa* (both belonging to a following predicative complement, = 'the more'); with direct order and a short subject: in Boe.: *furþum þæt (P), swa ilce (Ao);* and with inversion and such a subject: in PD: *þanne ærest.* — In all these cases there is nothing to call our attention to the word-order. It is probable that the

modified member (sometimes the preceding, sometimes the following) influences this.

Most frequently, however, the introductory members, when not syntactically connected, are totally independent of each other. I think that in the following combinations it is the last modifier which determines the order: with direct order and a long subj.: in OETs: *đanne pN;* in Boe.: *eac hwilum* (230), *swa oft Ao*†, *forđam simle;* in Wu.: *forđy us eac*†, *huru unrihtlice, hwilum Ao;* in OEH 1: *eft pN*, 2: *alswa pN;* with inversion and a long subj.: in Boe.: *swa nu;* in Man.: *eft pN;* in AG: *oftost pN* (? *oftost on trêowcynne bêođ đâ trêowa getealde feminini generis and se wæstm nevtri generis*, 20), *eac hwilon;* in Wu.: *forđam swa, eac her* (164), *þa pN*; in OEH 2: *alse pN*†; 6: *siđđan pN;* with direct order and a short subject: in Boe.: *eft Ao*†, *get swiđor, P swa ilce* (= ealswa) *Ao* (194); in PD: *þanne pN;* in Wu.: *eac Ao;* in OEH 7: *eftsones pN.* On the other hand, the preceding modifier determines the position of the subj. in these cases: with direct order and a long subj.: in AG: *eallswâ eft* (*eallswâ eft uisus gesewen is participium, and uisus gesihđ is nama*, 254; *eft* here = 'eac'); with inversion and a long subj.: in Wu: *swa pN* (*and swa on þære menniscnesse wæs seo godcundness bediglod, þæt he*, etc. 16), *pN pN syđđan*† (*and of þam cynne æfter þære wisan syđđan wurdan manege*, 176; one of the two prepositional phrases probably determines the order); *swa þonne* (*swa þonne wênađ nu manige men*, 206, = 'in the same way now, *þonne* having almost lost a meaning of its own); in OEH 2: *alswa ec*†; with direct order and a short subject: in Boe.: *Ao đa* (*þa gesetenes þa he læt standan þa hwile þe he wile*, 74; *þa* here = then = consequently, and unaccentuated); in AG: *Ao gewislice* (*hominem uidelicet iustum laudo rihtwîsne mannan, gewislîce, ic herige*, 261); in OEH 7: *pN pN*† (*To þe*

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narewe herted man on his þonke he seiđ, 29; the first prepositional phrase contrasting the clause with others preceding and following). In some cases both or all introductory members seem equally important and independent of one another: with direct order and a long subj.: in Boe.: *swa nu* † (152); with inversion and a long subject: in Ma: *wel be eow* †, *forđam þus;* in Wu.: *Do Ao, đa forđam;* in AT: *(P) nu forđam;* with direct order and a short subj.: in OEH 6: *forđi apposition.*

There are two cases where it is rather easy to see which of the introductory members is the leading one, viz. when one of them is a) a personal pronoun without prep., which then generally stands without stress after the other, or b) a conjunctional adverb, such as *ernostliche, sođliche, witodlice, witerliche.* All these words, then, being too insignificant to influence word-order, it is the other — in the former case the preceding member, in the latter generally the following one — which exercises this influence. In our texts we meet with these combinations:

Direct order and a long subject [1]): a) in PD: *þus* † (2 inst.); in Wu.: *eall* †, *nu rađe* †, *swa, syđđan;* b) in Ma.: *Ao* †, *pN pN, mycle ma pN* †, *pN* †. Inverted order and a long subject: a) in Boe.: *Genitive, đeah, uneađe;* in PD: *hwilum pN;* in Wu.: *to đam* †, *đy* † (91), *þonne* †, *forđon* (206); in AT: *pN;* in OEH 7: *Ao, þer* † (74), *pN, nu;* b) in Ma.: *þonne, Pr* † (3 inst.), *pN* †, *pN* (3 inst.), *đa* †, *đa* (3 inst.), *đa sođlice, swa* †, *þær* †, *pP* †, *D;* in AG: *pN* † (2 inst.); in Wu.: *pN* † (2 inst.); in AT.: *Ao, pN* (2 inst.), *đa sođlice* †. Direct order and a short subj.: a) in OEH 1: *pN;* b) in Ma.: long *modal adv., Ao* (2 inst.), *Do, pN* (3 inst.), *wel;* to these we

[1]) in these cases the pers. pron. is the last, the conj. adv. the first introd. member, when a different order is not expressively indicated.

can also class the expression *sođes on ernost.* Inversion and a short subject: in Ma.: *Pr* ; [*đa,* 3 inst., *sođliche* here separated from *đa* by a clause; in such cases the member which precedes the clause does not count]; in Wu.: *þonne.*

On closer examination we shall find that in, at least, the first and third of these groups, the position of the subject does not follow exactly the same rules as after one introductory member. In the first group there are several instances with *þa, þonne* not causing inversion, owing, no doubt, to the intermediate members, with which *þa, þonne* form other expressions to be compared with adverbs of indefinite time or conjunctional adverbs. In the third group, besides some with *þa, þonne* and direct order in which I think these words are not so immediately present in mind at the moment of beginning the essential part of the clause (*đanne pN* OETs, *þanne pN* PD, *Ao đa* Boe.), there are still others in which the most important introductory member does not exercise its full influence on word-order: the last member being weakened by the preceding one in *forđam swa* Wu., the first, by the following in *eallswâ eft* AG, *swa pN* Wu., *swa þonne* Wu., both being toned down by each other in *swa nu* Boe. The striking cases are, then, very few, and, as there is some fluctuation also after one member, and the single texts do not afford instances with all kinds of members, verbs, and subjects, the facts cannot be very palpable. But, as we might already expect a priori, there is some tendency, shown by the cases cited, to fuse, as it were, two or more introductory members into one expression and to let this expression govern word-order. And if we attach importance to the combinations with *þa, þonne* and such as *swa eac (swaþeah), swa nu,* we can say that *two or more introductory members influence word-order so as to dispense with inversion more than that one which has the most inverting*

force. The cause may be originally an internal, psychological one, but, surely, we must here reckon also with external, rhythmical considerations.

I give below some instances with whole participial phrases (+ other members) as introductory:

Him þa soðlice ðas þing ðencendum. drihtnes engel on swefnum æt-ywde Ma. 28. þa ȝet wuniende on þissere weorlde. þe helende ableu his gast on his apostlas for ðere itacnunge. þet, etc. OEH I 99. — and gangende into þam huse hi gemetton þat cild mid marian hys meder. Ma. 30. and forlætenre þære ceastre nazareth. he com and eardode on capharnaum. 40. And to-somne gecigydum hys twelf leorning-cnihtun. he sealde him unclænra gasta anweald 80. Soþlice upsprungenre sunnan hig adruwudon and forscruncon. 106. On þam dæge þam hælende út-gangendum of húse he sæt. wiþ ða sæ. ibid. Gewordenre gedrefednesse and ehtnesse for þam wurde hrædlice hig beoð geúntreowsode 110. —

Perhaps these instances, too, add to the credibility of the theory suggested above that *the longer an expression is, the more it is compatible with direct order* [1]). In Ma. we find 3 such instances with a long, 9 with a short subj., all of them with direct order (and a stress-verb).

The case is almost the same when an infinitive precedes the subject and finite verb. The instances are only the following:

and to eche þat iswinch ilches mannes hundlimen alle swinkeð OEH II 181. forto salui sunne ihesu crist becom þi sone I 189. and to luuene ine god: mote fif þing. 75. To forleten ure sinne us

[1]) As for the explanation of this fact, see p. 119.

mineged þe holie prophete ieremie. ðus gueðinde II 69. forto schawen us þis he strahte forþ his riht earm I 189.

It is possible that inversion in one of these instances is caused by the auxiliary, in the other, by the personal pronoun preceding and modifying the finite verb.

I have thought it convenient to examine those instances apart in which the (last) introductory member is separated from the rest of the clause by another clause (or by the comp. conj. *þonne* together with any other member) [1]).

There is fluctuation here. The following instances have direct order and a long subj.: *Ao* † Wu. 14 (2 inst.), *pN* † OEH I 129, *pN* Wu. 35, 53 (5 inst.), 54, 104, *pN* with inf. verbs OEH I 137, II 65; *D* († inf. verb) OEH I 81; *witodlice Do* † Ma. 206, *eft pN* (auxiliary) AG 110, not counting the cases with long conjunctional adv. We find direct order and a pers. pron. as subj. after *ða* (= adv.) AT 24, *þenne* (auxiliary) OEH I 275, not counting all other instances with a pers. pron. as subj.

On the other hand, we have inverted order and a long subj. after *Ao* OEH I 151, II 185; *Pr* (auxiliary †) Ma. 114, OEH II 13, 35, 93, 151 (2 inst.), 187; *Adv. case* Boe. 234; *pN* † AG 151, 247 (2 inst.), OEH I 151, II 187; *pN* (auxiliary †) Wu. 33; *pN* OEH II 97; *pN* (auxiliary) Man. 11, 12 (2 inst.); *pN* (auxiliary, infin. verb †) Wu. 194; *pN* (auxiliary, 2 infin. verbs †) OEH II 159; *pN* (auxiliary, 2 infin. verbs) OEH I 247, II 31; *P* II 59; *D* (inf. verb) OEH

[1]) Consequently, in the preceding pages, the introductory members are counted from this clause, if there is any. Here we have to deal only with instances with the *last* introductory member followed by a clause.

II 203; inverted order and a short subject after pN (*teken al þat þat tu haues ȝiuen: wil tu eke mare* = in addition to) OEH I 287 and after *pD* 279 (auxiliary, 2 infin. verbs).

Inversion and a long subj. are found after the following combinations: *soðliche Adv. case* † Ma. 240 and *infinitive Ao pN* (belonging to the infin., auxiliary) OEH I 247.

We cannot, then, say anything definite about the influence of the intermediate clause if we do not consider the almost total absence of inversion of a personal pron., when a subj., to be the effect of this clause.

C. *Clauses without any introductory member.*

Leaving out of consideration instances with the negation *ne* before the finite verb, or with the subj. modified by a clause, to which I will devote special examination, we have to deal here with three groups of clauses, viz. those preceded by *and*, *ac*, or no word whatever.

The direct order prevails in these clauses. There are a number of exceptions, most of them with a long subj. I arrange them in series corresponding to those used in B, and put the sign † after an instance without any modifier at all, the sign ‡ after one with only a short modifier.

	And.	*Ac.*	*No word.*
Ser. 1.	A *long subj.* Boe. 74 [1]), 76† [1]), 170† [1]), 240† [1]); Ma. 64[1]); Man. 10; OEH I 91 [1]), 227[1]); II 29 (?), 109, 113†, 211†.	AG 88 [1]); Wu. 298.	Boe. 8; 188, 232, 234. Ma. 124 (in apodosis); Wu. 99‡.
	A *short subj.* AG 135.		Boe. 234 (following a clause with in-

[1]) co-ordinated with a clause with inversion and an introductory member.

And.	*Ac.*	*No word.*
		version), 248 (in apodosis); Wu. Boe. 108, 140 (perhaps a subordinated clause); Man. 2, 13; AG 216 (subj. heavy).
Ser. 2. A *long subj.* AG 136, 189 (2 inst.); Wu. 249; OEH I 225 [1]), II 83 [1]), 83 (2 inst.), 163, 169, 199.	Wu. 129 [2]) (subj. heavy), 159 [2]) (= 129), 162 [2]), 268 [2]) (= 129).	
A *short subj.*		Boe. 62 (dem. pr.), 106 (? dem. pr.).
Ser. 3. A *long subj.* Boe. 162; Man. 2, 22†; Wu. 20†, 25, 54, 73 [1]), 103, 133 [1]), 202 (= 25, both perhaps subordinated), 238, 244; OEH I 87 [1]), 225 [1]), 257, II 21.	Wu. 129, 174.	Boe. 8 (stress-verb); Man. 1; Wu. 9 (dem. pr.); OEH I 223, 225; II 161† (stress-verb, in apodosis).
A *short subj.*		OETs 445, 446; Boe. XVI (subord.?).

How does rhythm manifest itself in these instances? If we do not include *and*, *ac* in the rhythmical scheme, which we have not hitherto done, the scheme is here either ⏑ — (⊥) = ser. 1, 2, 3 with a long subj., or ⊥ ⏑ ⊥ = with a pers. pr. as subj., The latter resembles I, III (p. 77). In other words, we meet here with at least one euphonic scheme.

[1]) co-ordinated with a clause with inversion and an introductory member.

[2]) co-ordinated with a clause with inversion without any introductory member.

But we also obtain euphonic schemes if we transpose the first and the second terms in the above, i. e., if we change inversion into direct order. Then the former becomes I, III, the latter IV, V. In other words, there is no euphonic reason producing inversion in these clauses, euphonic considerations being already provided for by direct order. *First-position must here be owing to the same causes as otherwise: connectiveness and stress.* Whether these causes can here be independent of each other, is difficult to decide; however, it seems as if in the few clauses in the apodosis there were stress without connectiveness.

Speaking of apodosis, we must lay stress on the fact that *such clauses without introductory members have, as a rule, direct order.* Knight's statement (p. 189 "The occurrence of inversion in independent clauses is confined almost exclusively to the apodosis", "But clauses in the apodosis are by no means always inverted") is at least misleading. The fault of his method of mixing instances with and without introductory members, with and without the neg. *ne*, is obvious. But a little later (p. 201) he makes up for this mistake, stating that when inverted clauses have not introductory words, they are negative, and that inversion occurs otherwise than in the apodosis.

Instances of inversion:

> þonne forlætaþ hi þa sibbe þe hi nu healdaþ. and winþ heora ælc on oþer æfter his agenum willan. Boe. 74 Her endaþ nu seo æftre frofer boc Boetiuses. and onginþ seo þridde. 76. hie bihalt hire sheawere. and cumeð hire shadewe þaronne. (þe shadewe hire tacheð. hwu, etc., consequently perhaps a conditional clause without a conjunction) OEH II 29. and brinneth on englen and on mannen. þe hete of soðe luve to him seluen 109. and dide ure louerd alse þe boc seiđ

113. — eall hyt byđ þær cuđ, and byđ mycel gewinn betweox deoflum and englum Wu. 249. vre drihten ȝiald twifoldliche iob — — — and warđ blisfuller his ende: þene was his biginninge OEH II 169. — and scoldon gigantas bion eorþan suna Boe. 162. and sceall þonne manna gehwylc gescâd agyldan ealra þæra dæda, þe, etc. Wu. 25. gemacađ, þæt sume men beođ swa gehiwode liceteras, swylce hy godes ege habban, and (= and in spite of this, though; and has here almost an adversative or concessive meaning) biđ eal heora ingeþanc mid fracode afylled 54. — þonne byđ hê indeclinabile, þæt is, undeclinjendlîc, ac gæđ se ân casvs for eallum đam ôđrum casum AG 88. ne dohte hit ær þisum inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hungor, bryne and blodgite on gewelhwilcan ende oft and gelome Wu. 128—9. ac wearđ þes đeodscipe swiđe forsingod þurh morđdæda, etc. ibid. — sittaþ manfulle on heahsetlum Boe. 8. leton þa gedwealde men, swylce he se Simon godes sylfes sunu wære Wu. 99. biþ men ful lýtle þý bet þeah he godne fæder hæbbe Boe. 108. Syndon êac on ânre geendunge ægđer gê word gê naman AG 216. sticiaþ gehýdde beorhte cræftas Boe. 8. Warþ þa þat wif for-spannen þurh þe deofles lare OEH I 223. — đâs fîf word synd swîđe wunderlîce and âwendađ hî tô eallum hâdum and to eallum tîdum, etc. AG 135. đonne he biþ west gesewen. þonne tacnnaþ he æfen. færþ he þonne æfter þære sunnan on þære eorþan sceade Boe. 232—4. Hu se Wisdom hæfđe getæht þam Mode þa anlicnessa þara soþena sælþa. wolde hi þa selfe getæcan (perhaps to be considered a subordinated clause as the preceding) Boe. XVI. — Is þæt þonne for dysilic geswinc þæt ge winnaþ, etc. 62. Is þæt ungewisenlic wuldor đisse worulde and swiþe leas.

(Fox translates: Worthless and very false is the glory of this world!) 106. — gif he ær þweores windes bætte. wærnaþ he hine wiþ þæt weder (Fox translates faultily, I think: if he first restrain the perverse wind, and so provides against the storm). 250. and þa hi wæron on þam sciype geswac se wind Ma. 124. Ac seđen hie henen wenden: atlai þat lond unwend OEH II 161.

We, then, see how few the instances with unconditional inversion are in our texts. In some of them there is a special reason for using it: influence from a preceding coordinated clause, or adversative meaning (sometimes followed by 'swaþeah', Boe. 140); in the former case there is sometimes chiastic order between a *þonne, þa* + inversion in a preceding clause and inversion + *þonne, þa* in a following (Wu. 99, OEH I 223, Boe. 234).

Instances of direct order with *ac*, or in the apodosis with all sorts of subjects are not rare: Boe. 4, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26 (apodosis, long subj.), 32 (apodosis, dem. pr. as subj.), 40 (ac, long subj.), etc. Ma. 34, 40, 42, 56 (apodosis, long subj.), 60, 64 (apodosis, dem. pron. as subj.), 66, 76 (as 56), etc. Man. 3, 7, 8, 13 (*ac*, long subj.), 15, 16, 19. AG 3, 6, 10, 18, 20, 39, 47, 71 (*ac*, long subj.), etc. PD 120, 132, 138 (*ac*, long subj.), 142. Wu. 1, 2 (*ac*, long subj.), 3 (as 2), 4 (*ac*, dem. pr. as subj.), 5 (as 4), 7, 19, 23, 28, 34, etc. AT 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, etc. OEH I 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, etc. II 11, 15, 17, 21, 25, 27, 29, 31, etc. — As for *and*, the instances with this word and direct order are abundant in all our texts.

The direct order in the apodosis is an application of the rule formulated in p. 99. It is however often prevented by *þonne, þa* introducing the clauses.

There are a number of clauses inserted in, or following, a direct quotation. These have, as a rule, inverted order of a long subj., direct order of a personal pron.: Boe. 4 (2 inst.), 24, 92; Wu 49, 50; OEH I 235, 241, 249, 253 (2 inst.), 255 (5 inst.), 257, 259 (2 inst.), 261, 263 (2 inst.), 265 (3 inst.), all with a long subj. and without any modifier; further, Wu. 44, 45 (4 inst.), 46 (3 inst.), 47 (4 inst.), 48 (2 inst.), 49 (3 inst.), 68, 69 (2 inst.), 81, 88, 89 (2 inst.), 93, 132, 190 (3 inst.), 209, 276, 295; OEH I 157, 213, 245, 249 (3 inst.), 259, 279, II 129 (2 inst.), 149, with a personal pron. and without modifier.

This rule is followed also when there is an accessory modifier: a long subj. OEH I 21 *(þus)*, 27 *(in)*, 249 *(þenne)*; a short subj. Wu. 45, 190 *(on)*, OEH I 45 *(þa)*.

The exceptions have only a personal pron. as subj., and are without any modifier: Boe. 142, Ma. 144, OEH I 233, 263 (2 inst.), II 63.

These clauses follow the same rule as those with introductory members. As for the inversion, here, of a long subj. (compared with the exclusive direct order in the apodosis), I only remind the reader that the inserted clauses may follow immediately after the first word. However, inversion prevails here after the whole preceding clause, perhaps owing to the analogy with those cases.

D. Influence of the negation *ne*.

As for instances with introductory members[1]) and a long subject, this influence is most easily seen after the long conjunctional adv., where there are several in-

[1]) Only the last introductory member, however, is here taken into consideration; but few of these instances have more than one member.

stances of inversion (Ma. 1, Man. 1, AG 3, Wu. 4, OEH I 3; on the other hand, with direct order Ma. 3, AG 1, AT 1). When the subject is a personal pronoun, we may see the influence also after other members (a long *modal adv.* OEH I 1, a long *conj. adv.:* Ma. 6, Man. 1, OEH I 4; *Ao:* Ma. 1; *Pr* OEH I 1; *pN:* Boe. 1, Ma. 1, OEH I 1; *short conj. adv.* Boe. 1; *D:* Boe. 1; *PD:* Boe. 1; however, we find with direct order: *adv. of indef. time:* AT 1, OEH I 2; *long conj. adv.:* Ma. 2, Man. 1, Wu. 1, OEH I 1, II 1; *Ao:* Boe. 3, Ma. 3, Man. 1; *pN* AG 1; *negative adv.:* PD 1, Wu. (p. 153) 1; *D:* Boe. 2; *pD:* Boe. 5). After another modifier and a long subj. direct order is very rare (in Wu. I find 1 inst. after an *adv. of indef. time*, 1 after a *negative adv.*, in OEH II 1 after *D,* besides, direct order after *hwæt:* Boe. 1, and with short subj.: Wu. 1); but there are several instances with inversion here.

Among instances without introductory member both types are frequent. I arrange them in series and groups; †, ‡ = as before; *str.-v.* = stress-verb (not auxiliary); *ne-ne* = *ne* before the subj. (or another member) and *ne* before the verb; *(a)* = apodosis. The instances of the smaller texts are put within parenthesis as in table 1.

	Direct order.					*Inversion.*				
	And.	*Ac.*	*Ne-ne*	*Apodosis*	*No word.*	*And.*	*Ac.*	*Ne-ne*	*Apodosis*	*No word.*
Ser. 1.					*Long subj.*					
Boe.	1,		1 (a), 1‡,							7, 1†, 3‡,
Ma.	2,		1 (a), 1	1,					2,	4,
AG.		1‡,	1,		2,					1, 1†, 1‡,
Wu.	1, (1)	1,	2,		1, 1†,					5,
1.	(1, 1†)			(1†, 1‡,)	1				2,	1, 1†
7.			(1)		3 (1')					1†
Ser. 2.										
Boe.		1†, 1‡,			6, 1†,				1	6, 3†, 1‡,
Ma.	1†, (1)		(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)				3, 1†, (2)
AG.	3,	3,			14,					10, 4‡,
Wu.	4,	1,			1,	2			1,	11, 3‡
1.			1,		(1, 1†)				(2)	3, (1, 2)
7.	1‡,				2, (1, 1'‡)					3, 1† (1)
Ser. 3.										
Boe.		1,	2,		3 (2 str.-v.), 1‡ (1 with two inf. verbs).				1,	13, 2†, 1‡,

	Direct order.					*Inversion.*				
	And.	*Ac.*	*Ne-ne*	*Apodosis*	*No word.*	*And.*	*Ac.*	*Ne-ne*	*Apodosis*	*No word.*
Ser. 3.					*Long subj.*					
Ma.									1, (1)	2, (1, 1'†)
AG.		1†,	1,						1,	1†, 1‡,
Wu.		1, 1‡,	1,		1,	1,			(1)	4, 1‡,
1.	2‡,	(1')	1‡,	1, 1‡,	1 (str.-v.) 1‡ (3', 1 str.-v.)				4, 1†, (1, 1‡)	4, 1†, 2‡, (3, 2', 1'‡)
7.	1,		(1'†)		1	1				3 (1')
Ser. 1.					*Short subj.*					
Boe.	2, 1‡,	3, 3†, 1‡	5, 2†, 1‡,		5				6,	22, 3†, 2‡,
Ma.	4, 3†, 6‡, (1),		2, 2†, 2‡,	1,	3† (1 d. pr.)				2,	9, 1 d. pr. 2†, 2‡, (1)
AG.	1,		3†,		5, 3†				1,	1, 2†,
Wu.	4, (1, 1†),	3, 1 d. pr., (1),			2,				6, 1‡,	7, 1†, 1‡,
1.	2,			1, (1')	3				1, 1 d. pr.	5, 1†, 1‡, (2, 3')
7.	1,	1,							1,	2,

Ser. 2.							
Boe. 1,	4, 1†	4, 1 d. pr. 1 (a)		1‡,		5, 1 d. pr., 1‡	23, 7 d. pr.
Ma. †, 1‡	1, (2)		1,	3†, 1‡,		2,	2, 2‡,
AG. 1,	8, 1 d. pr.	1		1, 4†		2,	7, 1 d. pr.
Wu.						(1)	2 (1)
1.	1,		1,	1, 1 d. pr.		1, 1 d. pr.	6, (1, 3', 1'†)
7.	1, 1†		(1')	1,			1
Ser. 3.							
Boe. 2, 1‡	2, 1†, 2‡,	4	2, 1‡	1 d. pr. as subj.)		7, 2‡	27, 1 d. pr., 8‡
Ma. 2, 2† (1 with two inf. verbs) 1‡ with two inf. verbs.				(2)		1,	4, 1 str.-v., 1‡, (1)
AG. 2,	2,	1,	1,	1,			2, (1)
Wu. 8, 1 d. pr. 1‡,	2 (5)	1, 1 str.-v.			1	1‡,	6 (1)
1. (2)		6, 1 str.-v. (1)	1,			2	2, (1, 5')
7. 1	1,		3,				3, 1‡, (1)

In spite of the great fluctuation of these instances we perceive some rule running through them: the direct order is rather the type of the groups with *and*, *ac*, *ne-ne*, the inversion, that of the other two. The inversion gives with a long subj. and long modifier(s) the rhythm ⏑ — ⊥, and with a personal pron. the rhythm ⊥ ⏑ ⊥. These are the same as those we have met with in C, and, as for the rhythm ⊥ ⏑ ⊥, there is some chance of its being euphonic (cf. p. 103). But the direct order is so, at all events; clauses with a long subj. giving the rhythm ⊥ ⏑ ⊥, with a personal pron., the rhythm ⏑ ⏑ ⊥. *Not even in this case is inversion caused by euphonic considerations though, in some cases, it may coincide with them. The cause is connection.*

When is *ne* connective? The answer is given by the above result: when there is not already a connective word which then attracts the subject. There are scarcely any instances of *and*, *ac*, *ne* causing inversion, when the finite verb is preceded by *ne*. Anglo-Saxon, then, has the following ways of co-ordinating a clause with a preceding one: 1) affirmatively, without, or with inversion, according to the member which is connective in that very clause, 2) negatively, by *and*, *ac*, *ne* without inversion of subj.-*ne* fin. v., or without any other way of connection than by the inversion of subj.-*ne* fin. verb [1]). Inversion, then, sometimes makes up for a co-ordinate conjunction (cf. p. 122).

There are some instances with *ne* before a modifier, or an infinite verb, and before the subject only, but these being few and not affecting the relative position of the subj. and the finite verb (probably not word-order at all), we can dispense with them.

With an introductory member, inversion is connective

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[1]) Cf. this result with that cited pp. 42, 43.

too. It is probable that the compound negatives (*never*, *neither*, etc.), and other negative expressions, causing inversion, as a rule, in Modern English, did not originally do so: the clauses were linked together only when these expressions were combined with *ne;* but *ne* disappearing in course of time, inversion remained as a mark of connection; when only negation is required, Modern English uses *not* (occasionally introduced by an antecedent *it is* —). We now understand why *any* as introd. member or subj. cannot precede *not*, though in other cases these words can be used for *no:* they are not connective, but *no* is, having assumed the role of the old *ne* + another negative expression; as regards *any* in the affirmative meaning, the case is different; within the clause *any* must not precede *not* for reasons mentioned below (chapter VIII).

Ðes dæl hæfd six casvs æfre befullan, and heora nân ne âteorad on ænigre declinunge AG 244. and þis wiðerfulle folc ne wile liste ðe lorðewes wisdom (subord.?) OEH II 83. ac ðâs twâ word nabbað nænne sopinvm AG 169. ne nanwuht eorþlices hi ne healt Boe. 130 (subord.?). Gif non mán ne þoht óf Góde. non ne spece of him OEH I 217. Euwer feond ſeou ne scal derian ne swenchen 13. and he ne mæg ongitan þa godcundan lare Wu. 241. Ac ge nýton hwæt ge doð Boe. 34. Witodlice ne wifiað hig. ne hig ne ceorliað on þam æryste Ma. 182. Ðeah hwa mæge ongitan hwæt oþer do. he ne mæg witan hwæt he ðencþ Boe. 226. hî ne synd nâ mid ealle dumbe AG 6. — ðær ne byð sybbes lufu to oðrum, and nys þær ænig man, þe etc. Wu. 146. Ðonne hwæm hwæt cýmþ oððe godes oððe ýfeles mare þonne þe þincþ þæt he þyrfe sie. ne biþ sio unryhtwisnes no on Gode Boe. 226. Ne deþ witodlice nán man

niwes cladeſ scyp on eald reaf Ma. 76. and ne þurfon we na þæs wênan, þæt, etc. Wu. 148. and þeah man bleowe mid eallum þam byligion — — —, ne awacode he næfre for eallum þisum 147. Ne miht þu win wringan on midne winter Boe. 10.

Here below I give a couple of instances with long conjunctional adv. and exceptional direct order of the long subj., regular inversion of the short one:

Soþlice þis cynn ne byþ út-adryfen. buton þurh gebed and fæsten Ma. 142. Witodlice ne wifiaþ hig 182.

Lastly, an instance with *ne* only before the subj. (instead of *ne-ne*); and one with *ne* before a verbal modifier and *ne* before the fin. verb:

He ne flit mid cheste. ne he sake ne sturaþ. ne on strete ne ihereþ nan mon his stefne OEH I 113.

II. Subordinate clauses.

Though, on the whole, inversion in these clauses must be considered as exceptional, this fact is partly owing to introductory members being more seldom met with in them.

A. Clauses with introductory members and without *ne*.

It must be borne ind mind that a great part of these clauses are introduced by a personal pronoun without a prep. (not counting the conj., the rel. or interr. pron. or adv.) and that this word, as unaccentuated, cannot influence word-order very much. Introductory members which are rel. or interr. in any way (with the exception mentioned in the note) are at first left out of consideration. *þonne*, *þa* will be specially mentioned within parenthesis; the sign

+ after the intr. member indicates that this is followed immediately by a subord. clause. Otherwise the arrangement is as in I D. When the pers. pr. is not the only introd. member, the instance is placed in the right hand column.[1]) Instances within parenthesis and not after a comma are included in the figures immediately preceding them.

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[1]) Sometimes a rel. particle is used together with a pers. pr. with the function of a rel. pr.; in this case the inst. is to be found in the left-hand column.

Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.	*Other introd. mem.*	*A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.*	*Other introd. mem.*
Ser. 1.	A. *A long subj.*		
Boe. 12, 10†, 5‡, (5, 1†)	10 (1 *þonne*), 10†, 4‡ (1 *þa*, 1 *þonne* un), (2)	5, 3†, 1‡	7, 11†, 2‡
Ma. 4, 1†, (2†)	1, 1† (ao +)	(1‡)	
AG 2†	2 (1 *þonne*).		1†, (1)
Wu. 10, 10† (2 with 2 pers. pr.), 2‡ (2†)	9 (1 æfre ænig), 3† (1 *þonne*), 2‡ (2)	3, 2†	3, 3†
1. 2†, (2†)	2, 1†	(2†, 1'†)	1, 1† (2†, 2)
7. 2†	1‡ (2')	2, 1†, 1‡	1†, 1‡, (1‡, 2'†)
Ser. 2.			
Boe. 4, 1†	7, 4†	5, 2†	3, 5†, 1‡
Ma.	1†		3†, (1)
AG.	1†, (1†)		2, 1†
Wu. 1, 1†	2	3	9 (1 perh. a princ. clause), 5† (1 a pers. pr. with prep.) (1†, 1', 1'†)
1.	(1)	1	

Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.,	*Other introd. mem.*	*A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.*	*Other introd. mem.*
	A. *Long subj.*		
Ser. 2.			
7. (1'†)		1, 1†	3, 2†.
Ser. 3.			
Boe. 5, 6† (2 str.-v.) (3, 1 str.-v.)	5 (1 str.-v., 1 þonne), 5† (1 þonne)	1, 1†	1, 1†, 1‡
Ma.	2 *(ða*, str.-v.) 1† (pN+)		1† (pers. pr. with prep.)
AG	1 *(þonne)*, (1, 1†, 1‡)		2, 1†, 1‡, (1†)
Wu. 2 (1 str.-v.), 1†, (3, 1 str.-v.)	1 (str.-v.), 2†, 2‡.	4	2, 5†
1. (1)	3 (1 str.-v.), 2†, (2', 1†)		(1† *þonne*, 2', 2†)
7. (1 str.-v.)	(1)	1	1 (1)
	B. *Short subj.*		
Ser. 1.			
Boe. 1 *(hwæt* as subj.)	3 (1 a+), 4† (1 *hwa* as subj.), 1‡ *(ða)* (3, 1 d. pr., 1 *hwa*, 2†)		1 *(þonne)*, 1‡ *(þonne).*
Ma. 1† *(hwa* as subj.)	3 (1 Adv. C. +) 1†, 1‡		
AG 1 (*hwa* as subj.) (1† *hwa* as subj.)	(1†)		
Wu. 1 (*hwa* as subj.) (1† *hwa* as subj.)	3 (1 *hwa* as s., perh. a princ. cl., str.-v.), 1†		1 *(þonne)*

Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.	*Other introd. mem.*	*A pers. pr. without a prep. as intr. mem.*	*Other introd. mem.*
Ser. 1.	B. *Short subj.*		
1.	4, 3†, 1‡	(1'†)	(2' *þenne)*
7. 1 (dem. pr. as subj.)	2, 1†, 1‡ *(þanne)* (1', 1'†)		1 *(þo)*
Ser. 2.			
Boe.	5 (1 *þonne*, *hwa* as subj.), 2† (*hwa* as subj.), (1† d. pr. as subj.)		2 (1 *þonne*, 1 d. pr. as subj.)
Ma. 1†	1		PD 1 (d. pr. as subj.)
1. 2	2†, (1 *þan*, 1')		
Ser. 3.			
Boe.	1, 1†		
Ma. 1† (two pers. pr.)	2, 1‡		
Wu. 1† *(hwa* as subj.)	3		
1.	2 (1 Ao+), 1†, (1 1' 1'†).		1†

The above scheme shows us that the direct order, superior to inversion in general, is the more so when the introductory member is a personal pronoun. Clauses with a long subj. and an auxiliary form a striking exception to this rule. Here the personal pronoun causes inversion in much the same cases and in as many instances as do other words. The personal pron. when a subj. is very rarely inverted (inversion being caused by *þonne*, *þa*). As for the influence of the (non-introductory) verbal modifier, it appears where inversion is most frequent, i. e. in A *ser.* 1, 2 Boe. (Wu., ser. 3 Wu.).

On the whole, then, we find in these clauses the relative position of the subj. and the finite verb affected by the same influences as in the corresponding principal clauses. However, inversion, even of a long subj., does not prevail here, and the scheme ⊥ × ⊥ is scarcely a head type, for the variation ⊥ ⊥ × is rather frequent. Inversion seems here to be relatively inferior to that in principal clauses, though the scarcity of the instances prevents us from making any direct comparison with them (cf. further below p. 120). But there is something which confirms our supposition, viz. the conjunctions, the rel. or interr. words, which are the first introductory members. As we have seen, the longer an expression is, the less it causes inversion (p. 100). This implies, of course, that in the longer expression there are unaccentuated places forming rhythm with the accentuated ones in the same expression, so that when the clause begins with the subj., finite verb, and modifiers, these have to arrange their rhythm for themselves. Such clauses are, then, equal to clauses without introductory members, in which direct order prevails (see p. 102). We have already seen (p. 71) that some modifiers (especially the personal pronoun without preposition) are

used for the euphonic purpose of forming weak places. In subordinate clauses, where a conjunction, a rel. or interrogative word is regularly to be found (except in some cases of co-ordination, of the omission of this word, etc.), we must expect to find the personal pronoun more often in first-position than in principal clauses, where first-position cannot be said to be superior to other positions (cf. p. 70, where, however, nouns and pers. pron. are not included, which would, undoubtedly, make the figures in the third and fourth columns at least equal to those in the first two). Hence, in princ. clauses, we meet with the personal pronoun either alone in first-position, and then it is emphatic, and causing inversion of a long subj., or after another introductory word, being then unemphatic, and without any influence in the respect mentioned.

I think, then, we can lay down the rule, that *in subordinate clauses, introductory members in general, but especially the personal pronoun, appear weakened, reduced as to stress and influence on word-order* (cf. pp. 74, 76).

Of the nearly 200 clauses with direct order and a long subj., 29 are causal; of the 120 with inversion, 43 are causal. The ratio 29: 43 accounts for the former type being not more superior to the latter here, for of all subordinate clauses the causal most resemble the principal as to meaning and word-order (cf. pp. 22, 77,): of the other clauses, then, more than $^2/_3$ have direct order (about 170 to about 80); of these, substantive clauses have as many instances of direct order as of inversion, about 50 of each. Consequently, with the exception of these two kinds of clauses (cf. p. 72) inversion is met with in only $^1/_5$ of the subordinate clauses.

For examples of this section, see pp. 66—68, 71, 72.

B. Clauses without any other introductory members than conjunctions, rel. or interr. words.

I give the following survey of these instances; only, however, of instances with inversion because the direct order is in a decided majority, as indeed is the case in the corresponding principal clauses; the sign — after the inst. indicates that a conj. is left out, and is not to be understood from the preceding. Clauses with the negation *ne* before the finite verb are not included.

	A. *A long subj.*	B. *A short subj.*
Ser. 1.	Boe. 2†, 1‡—; Ma. 1 (perh. princ.), 2†; Man. 1†; AG 1, 2†; Wu. 1, 1†, 3†—; 1. 4, 6†, 1‡; 2. 1†; 3—5—6. 2‡; 7. 3, 7†, 1‡; 8. 1†.	AG 1† (d. pron. as subj.); 4. 1.
Ser. 2.	Boe. 3—, 5† (1 perh. princ.); Ma. 2†; Man. 1† (perh. princ.); AG 1, 1—, 16†; PD 2; Wu. 2, 1—, 3†, 1‡—; 1. 5†; 5. 1, 2†; 7. 1, 8† (2 perh. princ.), 2‡ (1 perh. princ.); 8. 1.	Boe. 2; Wu. 2, 5—, 1‡—; 1. 2—, 1‡—; 2. 2—.
Ser. 3.	Boe. 1, 1†, 1‡ (perh. princ.); AG 1†; PD 1; Wu. 2; 1. 1, 1†; 5. 1; 7. 1, 1‡.	AG. 1—, 1† (d. pr. as subj.); 3. 1—, 1‡, 1. 1, 3—; 3. 1—; 4. 1—; 7. 1.

The influence most marked in these instances is that of one long verbal modifier or more, for out of about 110 inst. with a long subj. only 25 with such a modifier have inversion; of these, 5 have no conjunction. Inversion is, no doubt, more frequent in ser. 2 than in ser. 1, for on the whole this latter series does not nearly contain 50 % of all the instances as it does here. However, it is remarkable that we do not find more instances of inversion in ser. 2,

when there is one long modifier or more. Not including those without a conjunction, the ratios of these instances and the others are 10 : 26, 8 : 45, 7 : 5 in ser. 1, 2, 3 resp.; inversion in ser. 1, then, is twice as frequent as in ser. 2 of such instances, when compared with the others. The disproportion is somewhat reduced if we consider the great number of instances with direct order corresponding to the figures 10, 8; we must then admit that inversion is, at all events, more frequent in ser. 2, as is the case also in analogous principal clauses. It is scarcely inferior in ser. 3 either, where on the whole the instances, though not so numerous as in ser. 1, are almost equal to those in ser. 2. In ser. 3 the influence of a long modifier cannot be traced because the infinite verb makes up for one here. Of the other series, 1 has by far the greatest number of instances without any modifier or with a short one. Consequently, inversion in such instances is greatest in ser. 2, and much greater than is suggested by the figures 27—44.

As for instances with the conjunction left out, inversion here has no exception, as far as I know. Indeed, it seems to be independent of the common rhythmical circumstances, for we find more of them in B than in A, and in B more instances with one long modifier (or more) than without any. Connection, then, must play the principal role here. In fact, this unconditional inversion is, as it were, a subordinate conjunction, or a mark of connection with the preceding clause (cf. p. 112).

Instances of the former kind of inversion:

ærþam gewíte heofon and eorðe án .í. oððe án prica. ne gewít fram þære .æ. Ma. 46. forðan ðe hî magon hwîlon ætforan standan, hwîlon bæftan, swâ-swâ dêð ergo and igitur and gehwylce ôðre. AG 267. We habbeð bigunnen ou to seggen on englisch hwat

biqueþ þe crede OEH I 77. þe ilke þe foleȝeð þes fleisces lust. Alse deð þet smalchef þe winde: þo etc. 85. for hit melt of þe neche horte swa deð þe snaw to-ȝeines þe sunne 159. forþan ðe hî beoð æfre underþêodde on ðære lêdensprêce endebyrdnysse, swâswâ is que and autem and gehwylce ôðre AG 267. oð þæt heora burga weorðan ælæte and weorðan heora eardas swyðe aweste (chiastic order with the preceding clause; to be noted is the leaving out of the conjunction *oð*, however not to be confused with the instances below) Wu. 47. and warð blisfuller his ende: þene was his biginninge OEH II 169. þureh þe lichames cunde þat bred wurð to fleis. and þe drinke to blod. for þi mai godes word turnen þe ouelete to fleis. and þat win to blod (for þi here = conjunction, not adverb or dem. pron. with prep.) 99. for þat hie ben þenne sahtnede wið þe heuenliche fader. and is þe giate of paradis opened to-genes hem (this clause ought to be considered causal; cf. Wu. above) 105. — Swá ibrúce ic mine rice ne scule ȝíe mine mete ibite (as truly as, a solemn protestation; perhaps originally a princ. clause) OEH I 233. and sume conivnctiones æfter gecynde standað æfre on foreweardan on ælcere lêdensprêce, swâswâ dôð þâs: æt, ast, si and gehwylce ôðre AG. 267.

Instances of the omission of a conjunction:

and awacyge heora ænig, sona se stôl scylfð Wu. 267. wære se man on swelcum lande swelce he wære Boe. 99. — and forsugje he hit, biterlice scel hit him wyrþan forgolden on þam toweardan life Wu. 276. gif hwæt færlices on þeode becymð (beon hit hereræsas, beon hit færcwealmas, beon hit miswyderu oððon unwæstmas, beo swa hwæt, swa hit beo) 271.

Divers kinds of subordinate clauses are represented among instances of the former inversion; comparative clauses, however, are most numerous, (I find about 40 such clauses); clauses considered as relative ones are not all of them sure, some have perhaps demonstrative introductory words. Of the instances with unconditional inversion properly speaking, 6 are concessive, 10 conditional, and 12 disjunctive clauses (= concessive as to origin and meaning).

C. Influence of the negation *ne*.

As a rule direct order prevails in subordinate clauses even though a *ne* precedes the finite verb. However, when it is combined with other influences, the case may alter. I give first a scheme of instances with introductory members.

	Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
	A pers. pr. without prep.	*Other intr. member.*	*A pers. pr. without prep.*	*Other intr. member.*
Ser. 1.		A. *A long subject.*		
Boe.	1	4 (2 with a pers. pr., another intr. m.), 1†	1	1
Ma.	1†			
AG	(1†)			
Wu.	1	3 (2 with *nu*, Adv. Case), 1†		1
1.				1‡ (never eft)
7.				1
Ser. 2.				
Boe.	1†	1	1†	
AG		(1†)		1†
Wu.		1		1
1.		1		(1'†)

	Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
	A pers. pr. without prep.	*Other intr. member.*	*A pers. pr. without prep.*	*Other intr. member.*
Ser. 3.				
Boe.	2, 5† (1 with two pers. pr.)	1, 1†	1†	2
AG				(1†)
Wu.		1, 1‡ (pers. pr., næfre)		
1.			1†	(1'†)
7.				(1')
Ser. 1.		B. *A short subj.*		
Boe.	1	1		
AG		(1†)		
1.				(1')
Ser. 2.				
Boe.			2	
1.			1	(1')
Ser. 3.				
Boe.		1†		
1.		1‡		(1)

These instances are on the whole too few to admit of any conclusions being drawn from them. What strikes us is the superior direct order in A ser. 1. when compared with the relatively frequent inversion in other cases. However, *ne* does not seem to exercise here any remarkable influence on the position of the finite verb.

I give the following instances:

micel sido mid Romwarum wæs þæt þær nane oþre on ne settan Boe. 96. þær þær hine nan man ne can 98. — forþam þæt ten ðusend ȝeara. þeah hit lang þince. ascortaþ. and þæs oþres ne cýmd næfre nan

ende 66. þæt hie þurh þa þing scýlon begitan þæt him ne sie nanes willan wana 86. for þat ne mei na tunge tellen OEH I 249.

As for examples without introductory members, direct order prevails among them, too. I count 24 exceptions with a long subj. (ser. 1. 4, 2. 9, 3. 13) and 19 with a short one (ser. 1. 6, 2. 7, 3. 6). Among the latter, 5 have a conjunction left out (4 in ser. 2, 1 in ser. 3). Most of all these instances have one long modifier or more (in A ser. 1. 3, ser. 2. 8, ser. 3. 9, in B ser. 1. 5, ser. 2. 6, ser. 3. 4). We may add that among these, there are altogether 20 causal clauses.

I give here some instances of both types:

and swiðe micel þearf is eac, þæt cristene men þæne egesan æfre ne dreogan, þæt hy, etc. Wu. 281. þæt nu ne beoð naht fela manna ætsamne, þæt heora sum ne si seoc and samhâl 273. ðonne secgað us ure godcundan lareowas, þæt hy nyton þa tid, hwænne we, etc. 242. and se, þe þæt ne gelæste 272. — forðam ne fremeð ænig cyricsocn æfre ænigum þera, þe, etc. 281. forðon nis an stæpe, þæt heo wille oferyrnan, etc. 211. forðam ne gewilnað he na maran, þonne þæs mannes mæþa beoð 280. forðam ne biđ hit naht, beo ðær ænig tweonung 282.

A relative or interr. pronoun as subject is inverted only when it belongs properly to the clause which comes next, the preceding determinative being left out (these instances may be principal as well as subordinate clauses): *uniseli is ðet is wiđ luue to eni eorðlich þing iteied* OEH I 215. *I blesced beo*

þet þus went lure to biȝeate 213. *Swo þat bi hem was soð þæt þe wise seide* II 85. — More seldom is this subj. not placed at the end of the first clause: *þat (good) forbode þe þuhte swete* 183; besides 6 instances in Ma., 2 in PD, 2 in Wu. (1 however with inversion).

III. Clauses of command and wishing.

Having already entered into the details of the relative position of the subj. and the finite verb in other clauses, I now confine myself to giving the following schemes:

	Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
	With intr. member	*Without intr. member* (incl. *and, ac uton*)	*With intr. member*	*Without intr. member* (incl. *and, ac uton*)
		A. *A long subject.*		
OETs	8	9		
Boe.		1	6	9
Ma.	1 (with *ne-ne*)		5 (1 with *ne*)	16 (4 with *ne*)
Man.		1		2
AG				3 (1 with *ne*)
PD		1	4	5
Wu.	9 (1 with *ne-ne*, 3 with *ne*)	56 (14 (with *ne-ne*, with *ne*)	8 37 (2 with *ne*, 1 Ao†)	78 (7 with *ne*)
AT		2		3
OEH		26 (3 with *ne*)	7 (1 with *ne*)	22 (4 with *ne*, 2 part as intr. m.)
		B. *A short subj.*		
Boe.		8	11 (2 with dem. pr., 2 with mod.+)	10 (2 with *ne*)
Ma.	2	5 (2 with *ne-ne*)	8 (1 with *ne*, 2 with mod.†)	56 (38 with *ne*, 2 with dem. pr.)
AG			1	57 (2 with *ne*, 1 with dem. pr.)
PD		1	9	2 (1 with *ne*)
Wu.	3	11 (1 with *ne-ne*, 3 with *ne*)	8	43 (9 with *ne*, 4 with dem. pr.)
AT		1	2	14 (3 with *ne*, 3 with dem. pr.)
OEH	1	9	3	61 (21 with *ne*)

Having shown the influence of *ne* in these clauses also (except in Wu. A) we proceed to examine those of the subject and the introductory member. We had better, therefore, eliminate the instances with *ne*, *ne-ne*, and a demonstrative pronoun as subj. By summing up the instances of the texts, we obtain the result that the short subject is more often inverted than the long one. But if we do not mix the numbers of the texts, the result is quite otherwise; then the instances with intr. m. in Wu. (and OEH), without any in Ma, show greater inversion of a long subj. than of a short one, instances without intr. m. in (AG, AT, and) OEH greater inversion of a short subj. By the first method we more often find inversion after an introd. member than after no member at all. In the second manner of proceeding this result is given by Wu. and OEH in A, by Boe. (and PD) in B, contradicted by Ma. in A, by (Ma.) Wu. (AT, and OEH) in B. Apparently we cannot get at the real fact by only comparing the numbers in the texts separately. We must add them together, and by way of compensation for this less accurate method, take into consideration the verbs and the modifiers. We then obtain the following scheme (excluding clauses with *ne*, *ne-ne* and dem. pr. as subj.).

	Direct order.		*Inversion.*	
	With intr. m.	*Without intr. m.* (incl. *and ac, uton*)	*With intr. m.*	*Without intr. m.* (etc.)
		A. *A long subj.*		
Ser. 1.	12. 1†	48, 5†, 10‡	33, 5†, 1‡	56, 24†, 4‡
Ser. 2.		3	8, 6†, 1‡	23, 3†,
Ser. 3.		5(2 stress-v.)	2	9 (1 part. as intr. m.), 1† (part. as intr. m.), 2‡
		B. *A short subject.*		
Ser. 1.	4, 1†	18, 5†, 3‡	30, 3†, 1‡	50, 48†, 11‡
Ser. 2.	1†	2	3, 1†	22 (32?)
Ser. 3.		1 (stress-v.)	1	10 (4 str.-v., 1 part. intr. m.) 15†, 1‡ (str.-v.)

The influence of the long subj. is here only noticeable in clauses with introd. mem., the infl. of an intr. m. only in ser. 1, the influence of the verb (most frequent inversion in ser. 2) only in clauses without introductory members. Besides, as a rule, these results are obtained only from clauses with a long, or more than one modifier. Finally the influence of those modifiers appears only in ser. 1 in clauses without intr. member, except in clauses with a short modifier.

It is obvious that rhythmical considerations are often set at nought by the connective in clauses of command and of wishing. It is to be noted that the influence of the introd. member, that of the verb, and that of the modifier, though not proved in several cases, on account of the few instances found, is for the same reason not essentially contradicted, either. As for the influence of the subj. in clauses without intr. member, it seems as if the short ones were more often inverted than the long. Here we obtain the rhythmical schemes ⏑ ⊥ (—) (long subj.), ⊥ ⏑ (⊥) (short subj.), and in clauses with intr. member, ⊥ ⏑ ⊥ (—), ⏑ ⏑ ⊥ (—) (long subj.), ⊥ — ⏑ (—), ⏑ ⊥ ⏑ (—) (short subj.). Of these only the second, the third, and fourth, can be identified with those obtained in declarative principal clauses. Now we see the cause why in clauses without intr. mem. the short subj., and in clauses with such a member, the long subj., is more often inverted than the other: rhythmical considerations though not, carried out strictly, are occasionally discernible.

I cannot agree with Knight when he asserts (p. 215) that in clauses of wishing (and such are most clauses in this section [1]) the verb has first-position on account of its being unaccentuated; and that, on the contrary, in clauses of command

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[1]) at least it will be rather difficult to draw up any distinct limit between clauses of command and clauses of wishing.

it retains this position just because it has the chief stress ('the verbal element is the most important one'). He cannot be right in saying that the most important element ought to have the most accentuated place, but that this place is entirely created by the element in question. And besides, can we maintain that in clauses of wishing 'the verb is usually not the principal element', or that there is any difference in this respect between clauses of command and clauses of wishing? I think not. My way of reasoning is this: in course of time certain rhythmical schemes have been carried out, which are not confined to certain clauses, and where the accentuated and unaccentuated places are not confined to certain words, or members, for if they were, we could prove nothing. But we must admit that at one time it is a noun which has the accentuated place (and must always have one), at another it is a verb, (viz. when next to a personal pronoun; otherwise it has an unaccentuated one). In other words *here we have to deal not with the occasional, or psychological, but with the traditional stress inherent in the word itself* (see p. 38) *and which only changes according to the surrounding words,* in as much as a word which has an intermediate stress (i. e. the verb, designated ×) is weak when close to a strong word, strong when close to a weak one.

Instances with a long subj.:

and æt ælcan tîdsange eal hired aþenedum limum ætforan godes weofode singe þone sealm Wu. 181. on manna gehwylces mode and muđe sođsagu stande 74. godfæder his godbearn lufje and lære 74. and heafodmen teođjan 181. god ure helpe ibid. and đin willa gewyrđe 125. and þeowemen þa đrig dagas beon weorces gefrêode wiđ ciricsocne 181. — sibbe and some lufje man georne 73. pater noster and credan mymerjan þa yldran 74. him symle sy lof and wuldor

in ealra worulda woruld â butan ende, amen 122. â sy đîn nama ecelice gebletsod 125. and eume manna gehwilc bærefot to circan buton golde and glæncgum 181. ac don cristene men, swa swa we lærað 178. beo manna gehwylc hold and getrywe his world-hlaforde æfre mid rihte 74. beo æfre þin mête and þin rest gode betæht 250.

Instances with a short subj.:

and đeah æfre, swa se man sy swyđor forsingođ, swa he geornor and gelomor godes hus secce dæges and nihtes 155. Ute we nu isi wice biođ ure ifó OEH I 241. forđan ongeotađ ge þis bebod Wu. 230. and, gif hwa þis ne gelæste, đonne gebete he þæt 181. Forđam, men þa leofestan, geþencan wê, þæt, etc. 205. þonne þu, godes wer, to þinum gereorde gâ, gỳm þu þæs earmestan geornlicost 250. witan ge, þæt ge healdan minne þane halgan rystedæg 218. and gif hit hwa gedon hæbbe, beo he utlah wiđ god 271. and se þe oferhogige, þæt he heom ne hliste, hæbbe he him gemæne þæt wiđ god silfne 191.

IV. Interrogative clauses.

When the subj. is not an interrogative pronoun, or is not in relation with an interrogative word, inversion prevails. Besides these, I find two kinds of exception to the rule.

1) Clauses introduced by *hwæđer* = Sw. månne. This interrogative particle may be an elliptical expression for 'I wonder whether', and if so, the direct order may be according to the rule valid for subordinate clauses. These instances are to be found in Boe. and Ma., and principally when the subj. is short.

Eala hwæþer ge netelican men engiton hwelc se wela sie Boe. 50. hwæþer nu god hlisa and foremærnes sie

for nauht to tellene 86. hweþer þis folc mæge cweþan þæt 236. oþþe hwæþer hit ðe eft þince eallra þinga weorþlicost and mærlicost 120. Hwæþer þu nu wene þæt, etc. ibid. Hwæþer þu ongite þæt, etc. 208. gif se weorþscipe and se anweald agnes ðonces god wære — — hwæðer he wolde þam forcuþestum mannum folgian 54.

In the following instance *hwæþer* seems to have the meaning of *'but': hwæþer ic ðe secge þeah þæt* etc. 38. In the signification of *'which'* it follows the same rule as other interrogatives: *Hwæþer wenst þu nu. gif twegen men — — — hwæþer ðara twegra þincþ þe mihtigra* 178 (cf. also *Hwæþer wylle ge þæt ic eow agyfe þe barabban ðe þone hælynd. — — — Hwæþerne wylle ge þæt ic forgyfe eow of þisum twam* Ma. 230).

I note the following cases with inversion after *hwæþer* = *'mânne': Hwæþer ðe nu licigen fægera lond* Boe 40. *Hwæþer þe þonne þýnce unweorþ and unmærlic seo gegaderung ðara þreora þinga* 120. But here the following introductory words may influence the word-order.

On the other hand, *hu* and *hwæt* = *'mânne'* have inversion after them, the former mostly, it is true, combined with *ne* before the finite verb: *Gif nu eall þises middaneardes wela come to anum men. hu ne wæron þonne ealle oþre men wædlan butan anum* Boe. 38. *Hu ne is þe nu genog openlice geeowad þara leasena gesælþa anlicnes* 84, *Hu ne witon we þæt*, etc. 86. *Hu ne wile he þonne don swa swa hý dýdon* 50. *Hwæt wenaþ þa ýfelan þæt*, etc. 190. — As for the last instance, *hwæt* may be regarded as an interjection, as indeed it is in principal declarative clauses, and the rest considered as a clause without introductory word.

2) the latter clause in a disjunctive question:

Drihten hwænne gesawe we ðe hingrigendne and we

ðe feddon. þyrstendne and we ðe drinc sealdon. hwænne gesawe we þæt ðu cuma wære and þe inlaþodon. oððe nacodne and we þe scryddon Ma. 208. (These are, as far as I know, the only instances).

Inversion in principal interrogative clauses is, as it seems to me, quite independent of rhythmical considerations. For the explanation of this inversion, I refer to 'Die Wortstellung im altfranzösischen direkten Fragesatze' by A. Schulze. He introduces psychological considerations to explain inversion in declarative clauses: the grammatical subject may be 1) the logical subj.: 'Rollanz respunt' (R. is the person just expected to answer), 2) the logical predicate: 'Dist Oliviers' (the speaking is the action expected, this speaking comes from O.), 3) an accessory subj., the expected subject being already implied in the predicate: 'Plurent si oil' = they are weeping, his eyes. — Now inversion in interrogative clauses can be characteristic only in the first case: inversion here is performed by the principle of differentiation. This explanation, however, applies only to questions without interrogative words ('Bestätigungsfragen'; Knight explains inversion here in the same way as he does inversion in clauses of wishing, and I refer to what I have said about his explanation, p. 131). In other questions the introductory word (whether a modifier, or a grammatical subj.) ought to be considered the logical subj., just as in declarative clauses: 'ou siet li rois', corresponding to 'la siet li rois', where 'siet' is the logical (and grammatical) predicate, 'li rois' the accessory gramm. subj. In other clauses with introductory words, these cannot always be considered the logical subject, but this may be implied in the verb, and then added (according to 3). That, on the other hand, the accessory subject is mostly a noun, is a consequence of the fact that the personal pronoun, as not conveying any new

idea, can very well (at least in a language like Old French) be left out. The inversion of a pronoun-subj. may be a result of analogy. The direct order after an introductory word is owing to an anacoluthus, and this may be brought in for metrical reasons, the subj. filling the first hemistich.

As for this explanation, I have already spoken (pp. 34, 35) about psychological considerations. Besides, it must sometimes be rather difficult to distinguish between the moments 1)—3). Whatever the origin of the different types of word-order may be, it is certain that in the English language there has been a period when rhythmical considerations were, to a great extent, the determining ones. The direct order in the latter clause of a disjunctive question may be brought in by the special kind of euphony called *chiasmus* (Sweet: 'cross-order').

V. Exclamative clauses.

Clauses introduced by *hwæt* are included among declarative clauses when this *hwæt* is only an interjection without any reference to other members.

Let me give an instance with *hwæt* in relation with a special word: *hwæt þu eart gesælig* Boe. 126; likewise 154; and then the instances with other introductory words in the same function: *Eala on hu grundleasum seaðe þæt Mod þringþ* Boe. 6. *Eala hu ýfele me doþ manege woruld menn mid ðam þæt*, etc. 20. *Eala hu gesælig seo forme eld was þises middan geardes* 48. *hu wunderlic wolde eow þæt þincan* 52. *hu mide mare is þonne þæs monnes lichoma to metenne wiþ þæt Mod* ibid. *Eala eaw hu hefig geoc he beslepte on ealle þa þe — — — and hu oft his sweord wære besýled on unscýldigum blode* 58. *hu þu me hæfst afrefrodne* etc. 76. *hu micel and hu wunderlic þu earƒ* 128. *hwelce cehettunge ge*

woldon þæs habban 52. *Eala þæt te ðis moncýn wære gesælig* 74. *Eala þæt hit is micel craft ðæs Modes for ðone lichoman* 196. *Awah! þet ic hit efre dude mid mine wrechede licome þas sunnen* OEH I 29. — Of these instances only two show inversion, perhaps because of the introductory word being in syntactical relation with the exclamative; in neither of them is the verb a stress-verb, nor the subj., a pers. pronoun. I think, therefore, we can lay down the rule that *in exclamative clauses direct order prevails,* at least when there is no other introductory word than the exclamative (and no other influences promoting inversion). The explanation may be the same as for interrogative clauses with *hwæþer:* they are originally subordinate interrogative, or substantive clauses.

Before ending this chapter I wish to make a short reference to instances, where the subj. is a clause or an infinite verb (as regards instances where the subj. is a rel. pron., see p. 126), also to instances where there are two subj.

When the subj. is a clause, it follows all other members, whether they belong to a principal, or a subordinate, a declarative, or an interrogative clause. We cannot speak here of introductory members in the common sense of these words; modifiers, however, may precede the finite verb. I have only one exception to note [1]).

> Ðæs æðelwaldes wunder wæs ðæt he spræc to his liornæra sumum OETs 178. gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne męge 447. Hweþer ðe nu ðince þæt se man micelne anweald hæbbe Boe.

[1]) In the following instance it is not necessary to consider the preceding clause a subj.: *þu mi luueliche lef þer þu wiþ strahte earmes henges o rode! was reowðe to rihtwise. lahter to þe luðere* (Morris translates: When thou, etc., it was).

104. — ah hu ha beoð i-ordret ant sunderliche isette — — — were long to tellen OEH I 261.

If the subject is an infinite verb, this is also placed, as a rule, at the end of the clause, properly speaking, but very often this verb has modifiers of its own following it:

al engles lif is ti neb to bihalden OEH I 269. Sume: fredom and largesce þat (= to whom) leuer is menskli to ȝiuen þen cwedli to wiđ halde ibid. an (wike) is to kiđen cristes to cume. ođer is bodien fulcninge þat þridde is fulcnen II 139. nys þe alyfed hí to wife to hæbbene Ma. 118. forþam þe eow is geseald to witanne heofena rices gerynu 108.

Here too I find only one exception: *Esteliche eten. and drinken maked þe man fair. and wurliche* OEH II 31.

In clauses with a deputy subj. this subj. takes the place of the pers. pronoun when a subj., and the logical subj. follows:

þa com þær ren and mycele flod and þær bleowun windas Ma. 64. gyt đêr is ân hiw denominativum gecîged AG 17. on đâm ôđrum hâde tu đû and uos gê, þêr đêr byđ tôsprêc (this rel.-clause is parenthetic and does not refer to the following *þêr*, which consequently is a deputy subj., as is also (or may be) the second *đêr*), þêr mæg bêon vocativus 110. ne þer nas nan wone bi-twuxan heom OEH I 91. nis đêr nân sopinum AG 168. gif þar sý sweg oþþe sar innan þan heafedon PD 92. þat hým þingþ (= to whom it seems) þat hýt turnge abotan hýs heafod 90. And wat belimpđ hit ȝief, etc. OEH I 239.

Not to be confused with these clauses are certain anacoluthus constructions, where the subj. (be it a pers. pronoun, or a noun) is repeated afterwards (with, respectively,

a noun, or a pers. pronoun). Often an inserted clause is the cause of such a construction. In these instances the one subj. must be eliminated, and the clause considered as beginning or ending with the member next to it: *Ac Adam se æresta man ne þorfte he na tweogan* Wu. 2. *ac god ælmihtig ðurh his mildheortnesse, þa þa he wolde mancynn of deofles gewealde ahreddan, þa sende he his heahencgel Gabriel to ðam mæran mædene Scã Marian* 22. *forðan ðe hî synd same primitiva — — — same derivativa* AG 92.

CHAPTER IV.

Finite Verb and Modifier.

In tables 5—13 I leave out of consideration instances with two or more infinite verbs; with a clause determining one of the first two modifiers, or with a subj. like those mentioned p. 136, or here below. All those instances will be reserved for special examination. I = clauses with a long, or with a combined subj. (a pers. pronoun + a noun, two co-ordinated subj., etc.); II = clauses with a pers. pronoun as subj.; III = clauses with a demonstrative, or short (indefinite, or) relative subj.; IV = clauses without a subj. (to be understood, however, from a preceding one in a co-ordinate clause), or with the subj. separated from the other members by an inserted clause. The series, minimaltotals, and arrangement of the texts as in table 3; here, however, the texts 5 and 6 are not brought together with 3, but are designated with the sign' after the figures in the column for AG, and that for Wu. respectively. The numbers in the

first and second, or first three lines respectively = principal declarative clauses, those in the third and fourth, or last three lines respectively = subordinate clauses. In the tables for one modifier the preverbal type (subj.—modifier—fin. verb) stands in the first and third lines, the post-verbal (subj.—fin. verb—modifier) in the second and fourth. In the tables for more than one modifier, the numbers belonging to the preverbal type are to be found in the first and the fourth lines, those of the circumverbal (subj.—modifier—fin. verb—modifier, etc.) in the second and fifth lines, those of the post-verbal in the third and sixth lines. In comparing the ratios the circumverbal type does not count. In groups containing *Obj.* or *Pr.*, other modifiers which are neither adverbial cases, nor prepositional phrases (e. g. modifier of a subj. or obj., in the Swedish grammar 'predikativt attribut') are included, but they are by far less frequent than *Obj.* and *Pr.* The former (mostly *Ao*) is principally to be found in ser. 1 and 3, the latter, in ser. 2.

I. Clauses with direct order and without a subj.

A. Principal declarative and subordinate clauses.

a) *Influence of the modifiers.*

In table 5 it is obvious that the adv. has a relatively more frequent preverbal position than the noun. Not so marked is the distinction between the Obj. (Pr.) and pN because of the numerous zero-cases, especially in principal clauses and in ser. 2, 3. But, as a rule, we perceive a diminution of the ratios from the left group to the right. By a proceeding similar to that used p. 79 (comparing only the ratios in the same text, and here, in the same section and the same series, and counting two neighbouring ratios, or, when

some of them prove to be exceptional, i. e. going in the opposite direction, those ratios which are immediately before and after them, as one case, three as two cases, etc.) we obtain about 70 regular [1]), 30 exceptional, some few dubious, 40 zero-cases, and 20 indifferent cases. Almost all of the exceptional and zero-cases belong to the groups Obj. (Pr.) and pN, while of the regular cases there are hardly twice as many as those obtained in the groups to the left of pN. Pr. (in ser. 2, 3) does not seem to have a less marked postverbal position than pN (in the same ser.). In Obj. (Pr.) and pN most of the zero-cases (about 30) belong to the principal, most of the exceptional and regular cases, to the subordinate clauses (about 20, resp. 35).

As might be expected, the gradation between the modifiers, with regard to their preverbal ability, appears in the same proportion as the gradation in stress between those modifiers, i. e. *best when comparing the adverb with the noun.*

Table 6 shows a more marked preverbal type in general. The gradation from the left to the right is here even more marked, as regards modifiers, than in table 5. There are about as many (30) regular cases as all other cases together. However, these cases belong, for the most part, (cir. 20) to subordinate clauses, while the zero-cases and the irregular cases are almost as many in both kinds of clauses.

If we compare each of the short modifiers in table 6 with each of the long ones in table 5, we shall find the vast majority of cases regular, while all the others amount to scarcely a hundred. In other words: *the modifiers form, as it were, a chain beginning with P and ending with pN,*

[1]) on account of the difficulty in drawing up distinct limits between some cases, I most frequently give the numbers in the discussions in somewhat round values, even when not adding the word 'about'.

where every link is heavier than the preceding, and at the same time has an increasing disposition to take up postverbal position, thus passing all stages from a decided preverbal position to fluctuation, and from this to a most marked, or exclusive, postverbal position.

In tables 7—12 we must leave out of consideration the circumverbal type and cases where the preverbal and post-verbal types do not amount to the total 3. In table 9 the same gradation between the modifiers, though here combined with each other, from the left to the right, appears as above. There are about 30 regular and about 40 other cases, of which almost 20 are zero-cases. Here, as in the preceding table, several exceptions belong to Wu. We cannot expect the gradation to be very well marked as the modifiers are combined and the numbers rather small. The essential thing is, that the result obtained in table 5 is confirmed by this table. There does not seem to exist any great distinction, as to this gradation, between principal and subordinate clauses, nor between the series; the different cases being fairly proportionally distributed between them (except the few exceptional cases where there are an equal number of each series; the total frequency of series 1, 2, 3 is in the proportion 4 : 2 : 1, of the two kinds of clauses as 8 : 9).

In table 11 there are only 20 regular cases to 40 other cases. Of these about 10 are irregular, about 17, zero-cases. The cases belonging to principal clauses are somewhat more numerous than those belonging to the subordinate (as 3: 2), but the former contain $^3/_4$ of all zero-cases, the other cases being almost as numerous in both kinds of clauses. Ser. 2 and 3 have about $^1/_5$ of the whole number; the regular cases, however, amount here to $^1/_3$ of the total.

Two combined modifiers are more likely to prefer postverbal position than one single one. If we compare the groups in table 5 with the corresponding ones in table 9 (e. g. all adverbial cases counted together, with Adv.-Adv., Adv.-Obj., Adv.-pN; Obj. (Pr.), with Adv.-Obj., Obj.-Obj. etc.) we shall obtain about 85 regular cases (i. e. more post-verbal position in table 7 than in table 5; scarcely 20 of them in princ. clauses), about 50 irregular (of which $^1/_4$ in princ. clauses; consequently almost proportional to the regular cases in princ. clauses), about 75 zero-cases ($^2/_3$ in princ. clauses), and some indifferent and dubious cases (altogether about 30). About $^1/_3$ of all cases belong to ser. 2, 3; they contain, however, more than $^1/_2$ of the zero-cases and only 5 irregular cases. The regular cases are almost proportional in these series, on the one hand, and in ser. 1, on the other, to their total frequency. But in ser. 1 they are counterbalanced by half as many irregular cases, consequently this series is, on the whole, more irregular than the other two.

An analogous comparison between tables 6 and 11, gives as result about 40 regular (20 in each of the two kinds of clauses), 20 zero-cases ($^1/_4$ in princ. clauses), and scarcely 10 other cases. $^2/_5$ of all cases belong to principal clauses, and $^1/_7$, to ser. 2, 3. The regular cases are almost proportionally distributed between the clauses and the series.

If we proceed to make a comparison between tables 5 and 11 (i. e. compare the long adv., Obj. (Pr.), and pN with each of the groups containing the long modifier in question), almost all cases prove to be zero-cases and irregular cases (about 30, resp. 40, so distributed, however, between principal and subordinate clauses, which amount to resp. 36 and 60 cases, that $^3/_4$ of the zero-cases and $^1/_7$ of the irregular cases belong to the former clauses). Only 15 are regular (almost proportional in the clauses to their total frequency)

and some few other cases; 1/7 of all cases belong to ser. 2, 3, which, however, contain 1/3 of the zero-cases and 1/10 of the irregular, the regular being proportional to the total number. On the whole, then, we cannot infer anything from this comparison but that a short modifier, far from materially promoting the postverbal position of a long one immediately next to it, in some cases (especially in subordinate clauses) seems to prevent it.

The comparison between tables 9 and 11 gives us another result. Here we find cir. 30 regular (viz. more postverbal position in 9 than in 11) 15 irregular, and as many zero-cases, 20 other cases; twice as many of the total number belong to subordinate as to the principal, but more than 3/4 of the regular cases are to be found among the former, and an equal number of zero-cases in each, the irregular being proportional to the total frequency. Ser. 2 and 3 contain scarcely 1/3 of all cases, but 1/5 of the irregular, 1/4 of the zero-cases, the regular being proportional to the total frequency. This comparison confirms the one previously made between tables 5 and 6, giving as a result that the long modifier has a greater tendency to postverbal position than the short.

There is no special reason for comparing tables 6 and 9. A comparison between 6 and 7 gives too few cases to permit us to infer anything from it (2 regular cases, besides zero-cases); the same may be said about the comparison between tables 7 and 8, 9 and 10, 11 and 12 (in this 6 zero-cases, 4 irregular, 2 regular cases, as a rule, not very important), etc. (see however p. 151).

To sum up the results obtained by comparing clauses not having the same number of modifiers: *only a long modifier when accessory seems to promote the postverbal position.*

An examination of table 13 essentially confirms the results obtained above.

The post-verbal movement seems to emanate from princ. clauses and ser. 1. as it is more advanced, and the gradation between the modifiers is less regular in them than otherwise.

b) *Influence of the subject.*

Here we compare the ratios in the same text, the same group, and the same series, beginning with IV and continuing with I, II, III (the order is indifferent, for the result will determine the gradation; the cases, however, will not remain the same, and if, by following a certain order, there is any chance of obtaining more regular cases than exceptional ones, at least in part, this order ought to be used). Otherwise the same rules are to be applied here as in a).

In table 5 we find among princ. clauses 50 (see p. 140 note) zero-cases and 20 regular cases, the others are very few (6); in subordinate clauses: 15 indifferent, 15 zero-cases, 10 dubious, 55 exceptional, 35 regular. Most of the zero-cases and about $^1/_2$ of the exceptional cases belong to ser. 2. and 3. though they do not amount to $^1/_2$ of all cases. — In table 6 the exceptional cases are equal in number to the regular (scarcely 10) among princ. clauses, thrice as many (more than 20) in subordinate; in the former clauses there are scarcely any other cases, among the latter, 10 zero-cases and some few other cases; ser. 2 and 3 are rare. — In table 9: in princ. clauses 15 zero-cases, 2 exceptional, 5 regular; in subordinate clauses, 2, resp. 15, scarcely 10; other cases being rather few (altogether somewhat more than 10); ser. 2 and 3 amount to $^1/_3$ of all cases, and their exceptional cases are proportioned to the total frequency, their zero-

cases $^1/_2$ of all zero-cases. — In 11 the regular cases are very few, being scarcely more than a couple in each of the two kinds of clauses; scarcely 10 zero-cases in princ. clauses, about as many in subordinate; 10 exceptional and a couple of other cases in the latter. — Tables 7 and 8 do not admit of any comparison between the sections. — In table 10 we obtain more exceptional cases (4, all of them among subord. clauses) than others, only 1 is regular. In table 12 we cannot get more than a couple of regular cases, there are some few others besides (not exceptional). — In table 13, we have 1—3 of each case in principal and subordinate clauses, mostly zero-cases in the former, mostly exceptional among the latter.

On taking a general survey of these comparisons we find, then, that it is difficult to state the influence of the subj.; in subordinate clauses, the exceptions overweigh each of the other cases. In table 5, one-half of all the exceptions consist in II being put before I (in 2 of them even before IV), the other half, in III being put before II (in 10 of them even in the first place). In 6 the exceptions are almost of the same nature, only a fourth, however, depend here on III taking a place before II. In 9 two-thirds of the exceptions depend on II, one-third on III; in table 11 the exceptions are proportioned as in 5. This much we can assert that the most frequent preverbal position seems to be found in clauses where no immediately precedent subj. influences the sentence-rhythm (= IV); other clauses may perhaps be put on the same level in this respect. — Here the rhythmical arrangement is more preserved in princ. clauses and ser. 1, and is more broken by analogy in subordinate clauses and in ser. 2, 3. (cf. pp. 144, 147).

c) *Influence of the verb.*

This influence is more decided than the preceding one. Beginning with ser. 1 and ending with ser. 3. we obtain in table 5, 65 zero-cases, 20 exceptional, and 70 regular cases (15, 15, 60 resp. among subordinate clauses, which are almost twice as many as principal clauses; there being only about 20 other cases; even here, then, the majority of the zero-cases are to be found among principal clauses, of exceptional cases, among subordinate ones; these, however, have also the relatively greatest number of regular cases. They are, on the whole, more regular than the former. As for the distribution of the cases in other respects, there seems to be nothing remarkable.

Table 6 affords us in principal clauses only some regular cases, in subordinate ones mostly regular cases, only 3 exceptions, and some few zero-cases.

Table 9 has almost exclusively zero-cases in princ., mostly regular cases in subordinate clauses; only 1 exception in each and some other cases besides.

Table 11 is very insignificant here: some few zero-cases in princ. clauses, some regular ones in subordinate, form the majority of the cases.

As for tables 7, 8, 10, and 12 we can infer next to nothing from their ratios here.

We see, then, that the preverbal ability of any modifier is greatest in ser. 1, least in ser. 3.

The different nature of table 13 prevents us from any direct comparison between clauses with a stress-verb and an infinite verb on the one hand and these series on the other. On a comparison with them when the numbers of all texts are added together, these clauses turn out to be something resembling those of ser. 3; the instances here

are heterogeneous, the modifiers in some of them belonging to finite, in other, to the infinite verb.

Syntactical analogy has begun its levelling work in princ. clauses, the gradation between the different series here being more weakened than in sub. clauses (cf. pp. 144, 145).

d) *Influence of the clause.*

This influence is the most decided of all, there being either a vast majority of regular cases (table 5: 90 to 5 exceptional, 25 zero-cases; table 6: almost 20 to 1 exception, 5 zero-cases, and some few other cases; table 9: more than 20 to 5 exceptions and somewhat more zero-cases), or such cases exclusively (table 11: almost 15). Of the other tables only 12 and 13 afford us more than a couple of cases: the former has 4 regular, the latter, 2 regular and 5 zero-cases.

These comparisons show us that in subordinate clauses the preverbal type is far more vigorous than in principal ones.

There are a number of clauses with two or more infinite verbs to be classed here. Most of them have the postverbal type (about 60 princ. and 50 subord. clauses). However I include in section

I 1 princ., 4 subord. clauses, III 6 subord. clauses
II 3 „ 5 „ „ IV 7 princ., 1 „ clause

inst. with preverbal and circumverbal type. The preverbal modifiers in these clauses are not always short. They may be long, governed by a finite stress-verb or an infinite which depends on a finite stress-verb, and stands before it: princ. cl. OEH I 233, sub. cl., 281); but also belonging to the infinite verb governed by the auxiliary (n:o 1 or

2); princ. cl.: Wu. 1, 141, 196; subord. cl.: Boe. VIII, 166; Wu. 24, 103; OEH I 53, 269; II 87.

Those with postverbal modifiers are of divers kinds, with long and short modifiers, one or more, referring to the finite verb, the first or second infinite, and belonging to different sections.

Let us now take a survey of the types in principal declarative and subordinate clauses.

As for the preverbal and postverbal types, the latter is *almost exclusive in the noun-groups of princ. clauses.* The exceptions are rather few, and, as a rule, comprise more insignificant cases (e. g. table 5 I Obj. ser. 1. AT, IV Obj. ser. 1. Wu., both with prevailing preverbal type, IV Obj. ser. 1. 2 and pN ser. 1. Wu. with 50 % of each type; and with less frequent preverbal type IV pN ser. 1 AT, II Obj. ser. 1. PD, AT, and some still more unimportant cases; in the other tables there are only insignificant cases in groups containing a noun). — *In the adverb-groups* we meet with some cases of decided preverbal type (table 5 I, IV Mod. adv. ser. 1. Wu., II Mod. adv. ser. 1. AG; some in table 6; table 11 IV P-Adv. ser. 1 7; table 12 IV Adv.-Pr. ser. 1 Wu.) and some with a strong fluctuation (table 5 II Local adv. ser. 1 AG, IV Local adv. ser. 1. 7) to as many (tables 5, 6), or a majority, with decided postverbal (in the other tables). — *In the pronoun-groups* the preverbal type prevails in P (there is, however, strong fluctuation in table 6 II ser. 1 Ma., AG, and in the insignificant cases II ser. 3 Boe., Wu., 7; in table 13 IV); we find fluctuation in D, and prevailing postverbal type in pP (except IV ser. 1 Wu., with prevailing preverbal type, and 7 with fluctuation) and in combined groups in general.

In subordinate clauses the preverbal type seems to be more in its place. In the noun-groups we find it prevailing in table 5 in II, III Obj., pN ser. 1 and 2 Wu., in III, IV Obj. ser. 1 and 2 Boe. and, besides, everywhere in OETs, in I Obj., pN. ser. 1 PD, in II Obj. ser. 2, PD, AT, 4, pN ser. 1 and 2 PD, in III pN ser. 2 Ma., PD, ser. 3 Boe., Wu. and in IV Obj. ser. 1 7, 8, ser. 2 2; almost equal to the postverbal in table 5 I, II, III, IV Obj. ser. 1. Ma., besides in I Obj. ser. 1 Wu., in II Obj. ser. 1 2, 7, pN ser. 3 Ma., in III Obj. ser. 1 7, ser. 3 Wu., pN ser. 1 Ma., in IV pN ser. 1 Wu., not to speak of some dubious cases; *otherwise it is inferior to the postverbal type in the noun-groups in table 5. In the adverb-groups* of this table there are at least 11 cases with a marked preverbal type (most of them belonging to ser. 1) to three with a prevailing postverbal and some other fluctuating or dubious cases. — In table 9 *the prevailing preverbal type is confined to the groups Ad.-Obj., Ad.-pN ser. 1 Boe., Wu.*, but is to be found here in all sections; otherwise we mostly find the postverbal type the prevailing one. — In table 6 the preverbal type shows a marked superiority everywhere; there are a couple of exceptions in II Other adv. ser. 3 and III pP ser. 1 and, besides, a number of dubious cases, all of them insignificant. — In the more representative cases (mostly belonging to Boe., Wu., sometimes to Ma. and 7) of table 11 the postverbal type is almost entirely absent (1 exception in IV P-Obj. ser. 1 7). — As for the other tables, 7 and 8 agree with 6, and 12 with 11 (here 1 exception); in table 10 most cases are dubious, but there are some with prevailing preverbal (and 1 with prevailing postverbal) type; table 13 has in subordinate clauses for the most part instances with long modifiers, and the postverbal type pre-

vails in these groups; there is 1 instance with two short modifiers and prevailing preverbal type.

On the whole, then, the postverbal type is superior in principal clauses in the noun-groups, in pP, and in combined groups, is scarcely so in the adverb-groups and in D, and is inferior to the preverbal in P. In subordinate clauses both types are almost equal in the noun-groups, perhaps with some superiority on the part of the postverbal type, in the groups with a long adv. the preverbal still prevails, and in the groups with short modifiers in general it is almost exclusive.

The texts where the preverbal type is most favoured are OETs, Boe., PD, Wu., and AT.

The circumverbal type ought to be considered a variation between the two others, consequently on the whole inferior to them.

In principal clauses it is insignificant, in more representative cases, almost excluded. It is most frequent in table 11 II ser. 1., passing the stages from predominancy to inferiority and total absence.

In subordinate clauses it is somewhat stronger. It seems to be most rare in I (in table 11 also in IV) and in ser. 1.

The texts where the circumverbal type is most frequent are Boe., Wu., 1, 7 (cf. above).

It should be observed that in clauses with more than two modifiers the third, fourth, etc., as a rule, follow the finite verb. The real position is therefore in most cases circumverbal or postverbal. Wu., however, is remarkable for accumulating modifiers before the finite verb.

Subordinate clauses (especially in the texts previous to OEH) are rather numerous where at least three modifiers precede the verb (when *all* instances are included there are about 30 in I, 130 in II, 45 in III, 60 in IV; of these only some few, about 20 altogether, in OEH; in II and III about 75, resp. 30 instances belong to the texts Wu., AT).

On the whole we perceive, then, a tendency not to overcharge the place between the subj. and the finite verb (= influence of the number of modifiers, cf. p. 142).

In the above discussion on the various influences I have made but a fairly rough distinction between modifiers, verbs, and clauses. I will now try to follow up this distinction somewhat more in detail, without, however, pretending to give exact statistics for the cases.

The obj. (in the group Obj., other members than the obj. and the pred. compl. can be left out of this discussion on account of their scarcity) seems to be more frequently found in preverbal position than the pred. compl. (at least in princ. clauses in I Obj.; IV Obj. ser. 3; in subord. clauses in I ser. 3 when combined with an adv., in texts previous to OEH; in II Obj. ser. 2, 3, in Wu. only in 3; in III in Obj. ser. 3, in OEH even in ser. 2; there are however several cases where the pred. compl. in subord. clauses has a superior preverbal position). It will be rather difficult to show how the distinction between these members affects the other influences. So, for instance, most of the exceptions in table 5 belong to ser. 2 and 3, but, on the other hand, they belong also to subordinate clauses, where a distinction still influences word-order (see below); the exceptions in ser. 1 are about $^1/_6$ of all inst. belonging to this

series, those in ser. 2 = 1/3, those in ser. 3 about 1/9. Now, as a rule, the majority of instances have a pred. compl. in ser. 2, an obj. in ser. 1 and 3. We may then be permitted to infer that the frequency of an obj. in ser. 1 and 3 somewhat tones down the irregularities by oftener securing for the group Obj. the place between the adverb-groups and pN. On the other hand, we might expect that a more proportionate distribution of these members in the series would lead to a more decided gradation between the latter (especially between 2 and 3), as regards the frequency of the preverbal position, than is the case now (cf. p. 146).

There are but pretty few instances (altogether about 4 %) with a pred. compl. in ser. 1. They cannot, then, materially influence the result.

As for the long adverbs, most of them mark indefinite time, or are modal; the conclusions respecting the position of the adverbs apply, then, on the whole, to these two kinds (= those which in Modern English are still to be found in the preverbal position). The adverb of place or *local* adverb seems to prefer the postverbal position in principal clauses, and shows no marked preverbal position in subordinate (most of such instances are to be found in II Wu. and in IV OEH); there are relatively more instances with preverbal position of this adverb when it is alone than when it is combined with other modifiers, there being, consequently, a strong variation in princ. clauses in ser. 1, a prevailing preverbal type in subordinate clauses of all series, in texts previous to OEH, in this text at least in ser. 1. — The conjunctional adv. may have postverbal position as well as preverbal (especially in Ma. and AG, do we find several instances with the former). Speaking of this adv. I must add that *þonne*, classed among adverbs of

indef. time, is, in many cases, a conjunctional adverb, and in this signification it seems to prefer preverbal position (cf. pp. 59, 60, 90).

There are a number of words which may be used as adverbs, as prepositions, or as members of a compound word (see p. 45 b), c).) I only include those denoting place. I follow the principle mentioned p. 45 to determine when they form compounds with verbs. Not counting *ætgædere, togædere*, where the local signification is not very prominent, and some others compounded with a prep. and a noun (e. g. *befullan;* but *ætforan, beæftan, bufan, ongean, oninnan, wiþinnan, wiþutan*, etc., where both elements are adverbial or prepositional, are included) I find the following distribution of the two types in our texts; rather few instances in every text belong to ser. 2 and 3; of course, exact numbers are here more difficult to be obtained than elsewhere is the case, but I think those which I append here, will give a fairly exact idea of the position of these adverbs:

	OETs.	*Boe.*	*Ma.*	*Man.*	*AG*	*PD*	*Wu.*	*AT*	*OEH 1*	*II*
Princ. clauses										
preverbal t.	2		1		67	3(5?)	5	10	0	5
postverbal t.		3	18	6	7	4	13	10	many inst.	
Subord. clauses										
preverbal t.	2	10	6	8		11	9	7	0	6
postverbal t.	1	14	5	11	1	1	9	1	many inst.	

These numbers represent short adverbs as well as long, most of them, however, belong to *forþ, up, ut*, and monosyllabic prepositional adverbs; we plainly see that, on the whole, the position is something like that of a long modifier in general, the preverbal type here being inferior to the other in principal clauses as is the case with nouns (especially to be noted is AG, where, however, most

		Preverbal		*Circumverbal*		*Postverbal*		*Remark*
Ser. 1.	Boe.	27 monos.	29 polys.	2 monos.	1 polys.			only 3 inst. with prev.
Ser. 2.	„	1 „	4 „		1 „			type, only 1 with postv.
Ser. 3.	„	8 „	1 „	5 „			1 polys.	are princ. clauses;
Ser. 1.	Ma.	8 monos.	1 polys.	1 monos.		3 monos.	2 polys.	only 2 prev., 1 postv. inst. are sub. cl.;
Ser. 1.	Man.	3 monos.	2 polys.			1 monos.		all of them sub.-ord.
Ser. 2.			1 „			1 „		clauses;
Ser. 1.	AG	10 monos.	5 polys.	2 monos.		3 „	1 polys.	the monos. postv. inst. are
Ser. 3.		1 „				1 „		princ., the others sub. clauses;
Ser. 1.	PD	3 monos.	2 polys.					the polys. are princ. cl.;
Ser. 1.	Wu.	50 monos.	6 polys.		1 polys.	1 monos.		1 prev. and 1 postv. inst.
Ser. 2.		7 „	2 „					are princ. cl., 2 prev. and
Ser. 3.		12 „		2 „	1 „	1 „		1 postv. in ser. 3 have a stressverb;
Ser. 1.	AT	10 monos.	4 polys.	3 monos.		1 monos.		about as many princ. as
Ser. 3.		1 „						subord. clauses;
Ser. 1.	OEH	50 monos.	6 polys.	9 monos.	4 polys.	3 monos.	3 polys.	6 monos. (ser. 1), 1 polys.
Ser. 2.		1 „		1 „			1 „	prev. (ser. 1), 1 monos.
Ser. 3.		5 „	1 „	13 „	1 „	1 „	1 „	circumv. (ser. 3), 1 monos. postv. (ser. 3), 3 polys. postv. (1 in ser. 3) are princ. clauses; the 5 prev. in ser. 3 have a stress-verb.

cases possibly imply compound words), but equal, resp. superior, to it in subordinate clauses, as, indeed, is the case also with the noun; it is so, however, only in the earlier texts: in OEH it is inferior in these clauses too. *The preverbal type develops here into the postverbal along with that of the nouns* when composition had not already fixed the preverbal position.

Prepositions may be put also after the word which they govern. This occurs very often with a pronoun, pretty seldom with a noun. Most of such instances have preverbal type, it is true, but most of them, then, are subordinate clauses, have a monosyllabic prep., and belong to ser. 1. The above scheme may give an idea of the word-order in such instances.

In several of the preverbal and circumverbal inst. the prep. belongs to a rel. pron. As a rule, then, we find preverbal position in subord. clauses, fluctuation in principal. Ma. has a strikingly large portion of these clauses with preverbal type, the more to be noted as tables 6 and 11 do not agree with this fact (not even in subord. clauses). *On the whole we find a greater tendency to preverbal type here than otherwise in pP.* This tendency, it is true, diminishes in OEH, but the preverbal type is still superior to the other, while table 6 shows us in pP 1 case with exclusive postverbal type, besides some other dubious cases. What is said here holds good for the polysyllabic as well as for the monosyllabic prepositions. I think we may put these instances on the same level as those with *short* adverbs (cf. tables 5, 6).

There are not so many instances with preverbal polysyllabic prep. standing *before* the pronoun (pers. or dem.). In OETs I find 2, in Boe. 7, in Ma. 5, in Man. 3, in Wu. 2, in AT 1, in OEH I 4, in II 5, all of them (except three in

OEH II) subordinate clauses and mostly belonging to ser. 1. (altogether 6 in ser. 2, 2 in ser. 3). Postverbal are in Boe. 7, in Ma. 19, in Man. 3, in Wu. 11, in AT 2, in OEH I 35, in II 44 (not counting some examples with a clause determining a modifier or the subj.), for the most part, too, belonging to ser. 1 (OEH has more than 10 inst. of 2, 3 each, the others altogether about 10 of these series) but scarcely 50 % of them subord. clauses (Boe. 6, Ma. 7, Wu. 2, OEH I 20, II 18). At all events, the majority of subord. and almost all princ. clauses with a (pers. or dem.) pronoun *preceded* by a polysyllabic preposition are postverbal, the majority of subord. clauses with a (pers., dem. or rel.) pronoun *followed* by such a prep. are preverbal. The tendency to postverbal type is to be found in the former case already in Ma. and Wu.

As for the distinction between finite verbs in ser. 2, 3, this distinction essentially coincides with the distinction between obj. and pred. complement. In ser. 3, where in the groups with an obj. the vast majority of instances have an infinitive (without *to*) we expect most often to find an auxiliary of mood; in other groups, the infinite verbs are, on the whole, an infinitive or a past participle; the finite verbs, consequently, are different auxiliaries. I think it will be of no use entering into details here, there being, on the one hand, scarcely any difference in stress between the auxiliaries, and, on the other, so many other more conspicuous influences that it becomes impossible to find out the true influence of different kinds of auxiliaries on word-order.

One of these influences not yet discussed in detail is that of the clause. We have already seen that as to first-position and inversion, the different kinds of subordinate clauses are not on the same level.

Among clauses with a long subj. the causal distinguish themselves by the greatest share of postverbal, the temporal and relative, the greatest of preverbal instances. I give the most prominent cases [1]) (minimi-total 5 as before): causal clauses: *Obj. ser. 1* Boe. 3 : 3, *ser. 2* Boe. 2 : 16, AG 1 : 12, Wu. 0 : 10, OEH 1. 0 : 5; *pN ser. 1.* Boe. 1 : 7, Wu. 0 : 8, OEH 7. 0 : 10; *ser. 3.* Boe. 1 : 6; temporal clauses: *Obj. ser. 1.* Ma. 6 : 8, Wu. 8 : 0, OEH 7. 2 : 4; *ser. 2.* Wu. 2 : 3 (cf. above); *pN ser. 1.* Ma. 2 : 9, Wu. 3 : 7 (cf. above); *Obj.-pN ser. 1.* Wu. 2 : 6; *Short adv.-Obj. ser. 3.* Boe. 32 : 0; relative clauses: *Obj. ser. 1.* PD 9 : 7, Wu. 7 : 4 (cf. temp. cl.); *ser. 2.* Boe. 1 : 4 (cf. causal cl.), OEH 7. 0 : 6; *pN ser. 1.* Wu. 8 : 7 (cf. temp. cl.), OEH 1. 0 : 12, 7. 3 : 9, 8. 1 : 5; *P ser. 1.* Ma. 5 : 0, Wu. 5 : 0, OEH 7. 5 : 0; *Short, not. conj. adv. ser. 1.* Boe. 7 : 0, Wu. 20 : 1, OEH 7. 10 : 1. Among the rest the substantive clauses are almost the only representatives with prevailing postverbal type: *Obj. ser. 1.* Boe. 10 : 18 (cf. caus. cl.), Wu. 13 : 16 (cf. temp. and rel. cl.); *ser. 2.* Boe. 18 : 64 (cf. causal and rel. cl.), AG 0 : 5 (cf. causal cl.) Wu. 5 : 12 (cf. causal and temp. cl.), OEH 7. 1 : 5; *ser. 3.* Boe. 0 : 12, Wu. 1 : 6; *pN ser. 1.* Boe. 2 : 15 (cf. causal cl.), Wu. 8 : 12 (cf. the other cl.), OEH 7. 2 : 4, *ser. 2.* Boe. 2 : 7, OEH 2. 0 : 5; *ser. 3.* Boe. 0 : 7 (cf. causal cl.), Wu. 1 : 12; *P ser. 1.* Boe. 7 : 0, Wu. 7 : 3 (cf. rel. cl.), OEH 1. 8 : 0; *Short, not conj. adv. ser. 1.* Boe. 6 : 0 (cf. rel. cl.), Wu. 8 : 0 (cf. rel. cl.); *Long adv.-Obj. ser. 1.* Wu. 8 : 5;

[1]) In the following schemes I do not include clauses with more than one infinite verb; of such clauses only 16 have preverbal or circumverbal type.

Long. adv.-pN ser. 1. Boe. 1 : 6; *Obj. pN ser. 1.* Boe. 0 : 9, Wu. 3 : 2 (cf. temp. cl.), *ser. 2.* Boe. 0 : 10, Wu. 2 : 3. Of conditional clauses I cite *Obj. ser. 2.* Boe. 9 : 6; *pN ser. 1.* Boe. 2 : 3, PD 5 : 2; *P ser. 1.* Ma. 5 : 0; of comparative *Obj. ser. 1.* Boe. 2 : 6, *ser. 2.* Boe. 0 : 4; *pN ser. 1.* Man. 1 : 4, OEH 1. 0 : 7; *P ser. 1.* Wu. 9 : 0, OEH 1. 6 : 0, 7. 6 : 1.

Clauses with a pers. or. dem. pron. as subj. I arrange in the following way:

	Adv. of indef. t. ser. 1.	*ser. 1.*	*Mod. adv. ser. 2.*	*ser. 3.*	*Obj. ser. 1.*	
cond. cl.					Boe. 6:3	Ma. 4:1
temp. cl.					„ 6:0	„ 11:1
rel. cl.	Boe. 5:0	Boe. 10:0			„ 3:11	
comp. cl.			Boe. 6:0 Wu. 13:0			„ 3:1
subst. cl.		„ 5:2		Boe. 2:3	„ 14:18	
causal cl.					„ 6:7	
other cl.					„ 5:0 (conc.)	„ 3:3
					„ 1:5 (interr.)	„ 2:3 (fin.)

	ser. 1.				*Obj.*	*ser. 2.*	
cond. cl.	AG 2:4	Wu. 4:3	1. 2:7	2. 4:3	7. 6:3	Boe. 30:2	
temp. cl.	„ 0:6	„ 13:6	„ 3:5		„ 17:12	8. 4:1 „ 7:2	
rel. cl. Man. 0:6	„ 0:6	„ 3:2			„ 1:4	„ 5:1	
comp. cl.						„ 4:2	
subst. cl.		„ 27:15	„ 0:6		„ 4:7	„ 39:82	
causal cl.	„ 0:11			„ 1:4	„ 3:6	„ 2:30	Ma. 1:12
other cl.		„ 6:1 (cons.)					

	ser. 2.				*Obj.*	*ser. 3.*	
cond. cl.	Wu. 6:2	1. 1:5	2. 6:3	4. 7:0	7. 6:7	Wu. 9:11	
temp. cl. PD 5:2	„ 10:3				„ 2:5	Boe. 5:2	
rel. cl.						„ 3:4	
comp. cl.	„ 25:3						
subst. cl.	„ 13:17 AT 5:1	„ 2:7	„ 1:6		„ 2:17	„ 5:24 „ 5:11	AT 1:4

			ser. 2.	*Obj.*			*ser. 3.*
causal cl.	Wu. 2:14		1.0:6	2.0:7		7.0:9	Boe. 2:6
other cl.	„ 2:3 (cons.)						Wu. 4:2 (interr.) „ 2:4 (cons.) „ 3:3 (fin.)

			pN. *ser. 1.*					*ser. 2.*
cond. cl.								Wu. 5:0
temp. cl.	Boe. 3:4	Ma. 1:15	Wu. 11:3	AT 2:9	1.3:9		7.4:7	
rel. cl.	„ 4:2	„ 4:4	„ 12:5	„ 2:3	„ 2:4	3.1:5	„ 4:7	Boe. 4:2
comp. cl.			„ 3:13					
subst. cl.	„ 4:8	„ 0:6	„ 5:3				„ 0:5	„ 3:7

			pN. *ser. 3.*				*P.* *ser. 1.*			
cond. cl.				1.1:4		Boe. 7:0	Ma. 6:0	Wu. 5:0	1.7:0	
temp. cl.					7.0:7	„ 7:0	„ 9:1	„ 5:0		
rel. cl.	Boe. 5:2	Man. 9:0	Wu. 3:5	„ 1:8		„ 11:0		„ 16:0		
subst. cl.	„ 3:8		„ 2:9	„ 0:8	„ 1:4	„ 16:0	„ 5:2	„ 7:0		
causal cl.	„ 2:5									
other cl.			„ 3:6 (interr.) „ 1:4 (fin.)							

	P. *ser. 3.*		*Short, not conj. adv.* *ser. 1.*				
cond. cl.	Boe. 7:2						
temp. cl.	„ 7:0			AG 2:9	Wu. 14:0		
rel. cl.		Boe. 50:0	„ 8:0	„ 20:0	AT 5:0	1.6:0	7.17:0

	P. *ser. 3.*	*Short, not conj. adv.* *ser. 1.*	
comp. cl.		Boe. 11:0 AG 10:0 Wu. 13:1	1. 7:0 7. 6:0
subst. cl.	Boe. 9:2 Wu. 1:4	„ 1:7	

	Short, not conj. adv. *ser. 2.*	*ser. 3.*	*pP.* *ser. 1.*	*Long adv. Obj.* *ser. 1.*	*ser. 2.*	*ser. 3.*
cond. cl.	Boe. 7:0	Wu. 4:1	Boe. 6:0		Boe. 8:0	
temp. cl.			Boe. 5:0			
rel. cl.	„ 17:0 Wu. 8:0		„ 5:1			
comp. cl.	„ 8:0					
subst. cl.		Boe. 2:7		Wu. 23:2		Boe. 1:4 Wu. 2:5

	Obj. pN. *ser. 1.*	*ser. 2.*	*ser. 3.*	*P. Short adv.* *ser. 1.*
cond. cl.	Wu. 3:6		Wu. 2:3	
rel. cl.				Boe. 17:0
subst. cl.	Boe. 1:5 „ 5:6	Boe. 0:6 Wu. 2:6	Boe. 0:11 „ 2:10	„ 6:0
causal cl.	„ 5:2			

	P. Long adv. *ser. 1.*	*P. pN.* *ser. 1.*	*Short adv. Long adv.* *ser. 1.*	*ser. 1.*	*Short adv.-Obj.* *ser. 2.*
cond. cl.	Boe. 5:0				
rel. cl.			Boe. 27:0	Boe. 6:0	
causal cl.		Boe. 4:1			
other cl.	„ 6:0 (conc.)	Wu. 3:2 (interr.)			Boe. 7:0 (conc.)

	Short adv. pN *ser. 1.*
other cl.	Wu. 8:0 (interr.)

In IV: causal clauses: *Mod. adv. ser. 1* Wu. 5:0; *Obj. ser. 1* 7. 4:2; substantive clauses: *Mod. adv. ser. 1* Wu. 3:4; *Obj. ser. 1* Boe. 11:4, Wu. 21:2, 2. 3:2, 7. 3:2; *ser. 2* Boe. 8:6; *Long adv.-Obj.* Wu. 20:2; *Obj.-pN ser. 1* Wu. 7:2; rel. clauses: *Obj. ser. 1* Ma. 3:4, Wu. 23:6, 7. 5:9, 8. 4:2; *pN ser. 1* Boe. 3:4, 7. 2:4; *Long adv.-Obj. ser. 1* Wu. 8:1, 7. 3:3; *Obj.-pN ser. 1* Wu. 7:2; temp. clauses: *Obj. ser. 1* 7. 9:4; cond. clauses: *Mod. adv. ser. 1* Wu. 5:0; *Obj. ser. 1* Wu. 8:0.

There are also a number of cases with smaller totals; on the whole these agree with the above schemes; consequently, there is a prevailing preverbal type in conditional, temporal, and relative clauses (except: prevailing postverbal in some cond. in I *Obj. ser. 2, pN ser. 1;* in some rel. cl. in IV *P-Obj. ser. 1, P-pN ser. 1*), and the substantive and causal clauses show prevailing postverbal type (except: prevailing preverbal in some causal clauses in IV *Obj. ser. 1;* besides some comp. with prevailing postverbal type in I *Obj.-pN ser. 1*).

The gradation, then, between subordinate clauses as to the frequency of the preverbal type, is that shown by the scheme pp. 159—161. There are, however, many exceptions, but these will be considerably reduced if we restrict the rule thus: *causal and substantive clauses most resemble principal clauses as to the frequency of the postverbal type; of other subordinate clauses relative and temporal most frequently have the preverbal type.* When to these relative clauses are added those in section III, the superiority of relative clauses in this respect cannot be doubted.

Clauses without a subj. show a relatively more frequent preverbal type when the subject is not to be under-

stood from a preceding co-ordinate clause, but is included in the finite verb. I think the reason is that the modifier is at the same time introductory, and consequently is drawn before the verb from other motives than those purely rhythmical. In some cases the preverbal modifier acts as a subject (cf. 'methinks'). On account of the scarcity of instances, this fact is obvious only in very few cases; in princ. clauses *Obj. ser. 2*, *P ser. 1;* in subordinate clauses in *Obj. ser. 2*, *P ser. 1*, *P.-Obj. ser. 2*. These latter clauses are mostly comparative, and belong to Wu.

The few instances with a clause, a rel. or interr. pron., or an infinite verb as subj. and direct order have only postverbal type (1 exception in Ma. with an infinitive as subj.). Clauses with a deputy subj., too, are always of this type.

B. Clauses of wishing and command.

In those with a long subj., the preverbal type is not rare. Omitting all instances with the first two modifiers circumverbal, we obtain of clauses with

1 long modifier	6	preverbal	12	postverbal inst.
1 short „	8	„	2	„ „
2 or more long modifiers	15	„	13	„ „
2 „ „ short „	2	„	2	„ „
1 short 1 long modifier (+ others)	4	„	8	„ „

It is to be noted that most preverbal instances belong to ser. 1 Wu., most circumverbal to ser. 1.

Of clauses with a short subj. there are in OETs and Boe. only instances of postverbal type; in Ma. and Wu. but a few of each (in Ma. 1, in Wu., however, most of the circumverbal); in PD 1 postverbal; in AT 1 circumverbal; in OEH 2 circumverbal; the others are postverbal. All pre-

verbal and circumverbal (except a couple in Wu.) belong to ser. 1.

Clauses without a subj. are perhaps most easily compared with those mentioned above. Here, however, postverbal type prevails in all texts. There are a few instances of preverbal type in OETs, Boe., Ma. and OEH, some more (about 70) in Wu., but it is at all events far inferior in frequency to the postverbal (about 250 in Wu.). The relatively greatest number is to be found in Wu. with 1 short modifier. Of circumverbal instances we find only very few in OETs, 1 each in Boe., AG, and AT, about 30 in PD (however 180 postverbal inst. with two or more modifiers), very few in either Ma., Wu., or OEH. — The few instances with the subj. followed by a clause have all of them postverbal type.

In instances such as those mentioned pp. 153—156 the adverbs, resp. prepositions are always postverbal.

C. Other clauses.

Of interrogative clauses with a long subj. there is only 1 preverbal, 1 circumverbal (to some postverbal). Clauses with a short subj. have preverbal type when belonging to ser. 1 (mostly introduced by *hwæðer*), postverbal when belonging to another series (mostly not introduced, the subj. being *hwa*, *hwæt*); some clauses have, however, postverbal type even in ser. 1.

Exclamative clauses introduced by *hwæt* are included among declarative clauses; as for the few others I refer the reader to p. 135.

There is only 1 instance with a preverbal preposition following a pronoun, viz. an interr. clause in Boe. The few others have the adverb, resp. the prep. postverbal.

II. Clauses with inversion.

We need not say much about clauses with a short subj., for their modifiers always follow the subj. There must be very good reasons for an exception to this rule, as, e. g., the subj. being determined by a clause. Otherwise I know of no exceptions.

Here we have to deal only with clauses with a long subj. The following tables are compiled on the same principles

TABLE 5 a.

	Clauses with one long modifier	Adv. Boe	Adv. Wu	Adv. 1	Obj. Boe	Obj. Ma	Obj. AG	Obj. Wu	Obj. 1	Obj. 7	pN Boe	pN Ma	pN AG	pN Wu	pN 1	pN 7
1.		1 6	1 6 1 21	2 4	1 10(5)	19(6)		1 11(5) 1 10	6	2 13	8(11)	1 21	3 13	16 1 8	12(10)	3 19(6')
2.			2 4		3 14	9(10)	5 23	8 8 1' 4 3'	6	1(3) 11(5)		1 (1) 4 (5)	1 16		(1') (4 5')	3 2
3.			4 11	(1) (5)	9	5	1 3'	2 15 5	8	1 6	10	3 4	2 18	2 8	8 (10)	7

TABLE 6 a.

P D Not conj. adv. pP

	Clauses with one short modifier	Boe	Ma	Wu	Boe	Boe	AG	Wu	1	Ma
1.		3 1	9 21	5 2	3 1	3 5		7(2) (2)	3 1	7 33
2.						5	9 6 1			
3.		2 2								

TABLE 9 a.

Adv.-Obj. Adv.-pN Obj.-pN pN-pN

	Clauses with two long modifiers	Wu	Wu	7	Ma	AG	Wu	Wu	1	7
1.		4 5	5	4	4		8			4
2.			2 5			9	3 2			
3.			1 4					1 6	5	

as those in I, only the position of the modifiers is here indicated with relation to the subj. (presubjectival, circumsubjectival, postsubjectival). The minimi-total is 4. Instances with a stress-verb and an infinite verb are not included. The third and fourth lines in every series contain clauses of wishing and command, interrogative clauses when in italics, subordinate clauses when followed by the sign ', and not within parenthesis (for then their signification is the same as in the preceding tables). The circumsubjectival type, being very insignificant, is not included in tab. 9 a.

There is scarcely a single instance of a stress-verb and an infinite verb with preverbal or cirumverbal type (1 preverbal, however, in P-Long adv. 1, 1 circumverbal in Long adv.-pN 5).

a) *Influence of the modifier.*

The gradation between the modifiers is then the same as in I. The regular cases, when the modifiers in each table are compared with one another, are inferior in number to all other cases together; but somewhat superior to the exceptions alone. When, however, every long mod. in table 5 a is compared with every short one in table 6 a, we obtain almost only regular cases (1 dubious case). If we compare a group in 5 a with one in 9 a, containing the same long modifier, the result will be some cases of divers kinds, but no exceptions. The influence of a following long modifier is not very decided here.

b) *Influence of the verb.*

We find the cases distributed in the same way as in a) when we compared modifiers of the same table. The influence of the verb is not a very strong one.

c) *Influence of the clause.*

There are some regular cases to 1 zero-case and 1 exception. The former, however, suffice to show that *the presubjectival type is more frequent in principal declarative clauses than in clauses of wishing and command.* About the others we can say next to nothing.

Of clauses with more than one infinite verb almost all have postsubjectival modifiers; we meet with the following exceptions: princ. clauses OEH I 247, II 171; sub. clauses: Boe. 62, OEH I 141 (there are, besides, three with infinite verbs put between the finite verb and the subj., but these do not belong to this chapter).

The tables show us that the postsubjectival type prevails in all series and texts except in Obj. ser. 2 Wu., the short adv. ser. 1 Wu., ser. 2 Boe., AG, and some still more insignificant and dubious cases.

The circumsubjectival type is most frequent in Adv.-Adv., Adv.-Obj., Adv.-pN, Obj.-pN (two long mod.); P-P., P.-Adv. (two short mod.); P.-Adv., P.-Obj., P.-pN, Adv.-Obj., Adv.-pN (1 short, 1 long mod.). In some cases where this type is the only one represented, there are more than two modifiers. I count 25 instances with the first two modifiers presubjectival, but only 5 of these examples have three modifiers before the subj.

The adverbs met within clauses with inversion and a long subj. indicate indefinite time, or are modal or local. In ser. 2 the pred. compl. is more frequent than the obj.; in ser. 1. it is vice versa.

About adverbs and prepositions such as are mentioned pp. 153—156, there is not much to be said here, there being but few of them in clauses with inversion. Among those which do not refer to a noun or pronoun, in the instances in question, there are only

3 instances, all with postsubjectival adv. in OETs,
5 „ „ „ „ „ „ Boe.
1 „ „ „ „ „ „ Ma.,
2 „ „ „ „ „ „ Man.,
1 „ „ „ „ „ „ PD
3 „ „ „ „ „ „ Wu. (and 1 with presubj., where the subj. is followed by a clause)
3 „ „ „ „ „ „ AT, 1 with presubj. (*in*),
6 „ „ „ „ „ „ OEH I, 3 with presubj. (*in*, *ut*), 1 of them where the subj. is followed by a clause,
1 „ „ „ „ „ „ OEH II, 1 with presubj. (*ut*).

On the whole, then, the position of these adverbs (including both short and long) *agrees with that of a long modifier in general.* The above instances have, all of them, a long subj.; when this is short, the adv. is always put after it.

Of prepositional adverbs referring to a preceding (noun or) pronoun, I find only some instances with postsubjectival adv. (the pron. may be introductory, presubjectival, or postsubjectival) with the following exceptions: 1 in Ma. with the subj. followed by a clause, 1 in Wu. *(ongean)*, 1 in OEH I *(to)*, 1 in OEH II *(to)*. The other cases are, however, not very numerous. — Of instances with a polysyllabic preposition before the pronoun I find 1 in Ma. (with the

subj. followed by a clause), 1 in Wu., 1 in OEH II (with the subj. followed by a clause) where the prep. is presubjectival, to some few others where it is postsubjectival. But from these few instances we can draw no conclusion whatever as to any influence of the relative arrangement of the preposition and the pronoun (or noun), or of its outer form on the position with relation to the subj. (cf. p. 156).

Clauses where the subj. is itself a clause following the other members, have their modifiers either preverbal or circumverbal. The reason may be the same here as in clauses without a subj. (p. 163). *In other words: these clauses are treated more as clauses without a subj. than as clauses with inversion.* To this rule I only find 6 exceptions in Boe. and 6 in Wu. (all of these with a presubjectival pred. complement, in 3 there are other members besides), 4 in Ma. (however with a preverbal past part.), 6 in AG (with a presubj. *eac*), 1 in AT (an interr. clause with a pers. pron. without a prep. and the adv. *wel* after the finite verb), 5 in OEH I (1 with a presubjectival pred. compl.).

The same may be said about clauses where a rel. or interr. pron. is the subject and follows the other members. There is 1 exception in Ma., 1 in Wu. Besides these I find only 1 inst. with circumverbal type in Wu., 2 in OEH I, 3 in II; the others are preverbal even when they have two modifiers.

Respecting instances with an inf. verb as subj., the case is also much the same. Here, however, the subj. may have modifiers of its own, before or after it, so that there are only seeming exceptions (perhaps a true one in Ma.).

In clauses with a deputy subj. the modifiers either follow the *last* subject, or precede the first. Indeed, if we

here include such clauses with direct order, we can lay down this rule: *a modifier never stands between the two subjects, or between one of them and the finite verb.*

As regards the most obvious rhythmical influences, those of the modifier and of the verb, analogy has developed in the same proportion as the postverbal type, i. e. mostly in princ. clauses and ser. 1. The differentiation between clauses, having begun as a rhythmical gradation, has strongly affected rhythm, and has ended by sweeping away the old rhythmical distinctions. This differentiation, then, has survived the rhythmical arrangement of words, outlived and supplanted, in its turn, by syntactical analogy (pp. 51, 75). The different movements are in part simultaneous, the one at first promoting, and at last extinguishing, the other.

As for instances to the whole of this chapter, I refer the reader to the preceding and the following chapters. I give only the following instances by way of illustration of some particular points.

Examples of more than two modifiers:

ðaet hiæ simle ymb XII monað foran to ðære tide gegeorwien ten hund hlafa OETs 444. ac eft — — — he wearð myccles syððan lange benumen. we þa syðþan of ðæs ylcan mannes flæsce on þas wræclican woruld acende wurdon Wu 1. nu wille ic þeah be suman dæle scortlice hit eow sum asecgan 7. and hy ða syððan geornlice agunnan rædes gyman 14. — — — to þam þingum, þæt he mid his agenum feore mancynn alysde of deofles gewealde 16. forðam þe we ealle wurdan þâ alysede mid his deorwurðan blôde of deofles gewealde, and he þæt ðurh his godcundan

mihte eac þa geswutelode 23. þa warhte god feole tacne on þan folke þurh þere apostlan hondan OEH I 91. swa beoð ec þa sacfulle soðliche deofles bern 113. þa wes þa sume hwille godes ȝéíe. on ȝemancynne 225. Ah ouer alle oðre þinges makes te luuewurði to me þa harde atele hurtes. þa schomeliche wohes þat tu þoledes for me. (the subj. is here emphatic, there being two co-ordinated, one determined by a clause; the latter, however, may be referred also to the following clause) 275.

Examples of adverbs which may be used in composition and as prepositions:

and ðonne he hóf (his) hond upp to hiofonum, ðonne hofon ða de(or he)ora fotas upp OETs 178. ðæt he gesawe heora sawla gongan ut of þæm lichoman fægre gefrætvade 177. ðet he ðis wel healde his dei and siððan forð bebeode his erbum to healdenne 446. ðæt se monn — — — and ða godcundan lean minre saule mid ('with it') gerece 450. — We have to deal with compounds in the following instances: forþam he hine swa orgellice upahof Boe. 66. ðonne up on afene, oð ðæt ðe se alda suínhaga utscioteð to afene OETs 434. ðet he ðas god forðleste oð wiaralde ende (*forð* has here the same meaning of 'continue' as above) 447. and forbęrnde ðone hæðnan casere 178. — In the following example *on* may be considered a preposition as well as a member of composition: ðeah þe se wind. þara earfoda, and seo singale gemen. þissa woruld selþa. him onblawe Boe. 36.

þonne woldon hi simle on ðam clifian. ðe him god mid worhte ('who did good with them') Boe. 56. þæt þær nan wuht on nis (*on* belongs to þær; a prep. belonging to a demonstrative adv. is taken into consi-

deration only when separated from it) ibid. ne nan mon eac ne begit þæt he æfter ne swincþ 122. þæt þing þæt þis spell ýmbe is 140. of þære stowe þe his eard and æþelo biþ on to weaxanne 148. Ac gif him mon þonne awint of þa claþas (*of* belongs to *him*) 186. and him to þus cweð OEH I 13. þe bitacninge þe ic habbe embe ispeken 51. and his riht erm schal biclupen me abuten 213. in to helle þine þer neuer eft ne cumeð of bote 49. — and heregyð bibeadeð ðem mannum ðe efter hire to londe foen on godes noman OETs 449. we wendon, þæt þu wære godfyrht and hæfdest gastlice gebæru beforan us Wu. 240.

Examples without a subj, which is to be understood from a co-ordinate clause:

Se ilca God gefegþ mid freondrædenne folc togædere. and sin higscipas gesamnaþ mid clænlicre lufu Boe 74. Ða þæt Mod þa þillic sar cweþende wæs. and þis leoþ singende wæs 8. ða com ðær gan in to me heofencund Wisdom. and þæt min murnende Mod mid his wordum gegrette. and þus cwæþ 4. ða ongan he giddian and þus singende cwæð 68.

Instances where a subj. cannot be thus understood. Swa me ðincþ Boe. 120. gif þe swa þince ibid.

For instances with a clause, an infinite verb, or a rel. or an interrogative pron. as subj., see pp. 126, 136, 137.

CHAPTER V.

Finite verb and infinite verb.

I. Clauses without modifiers (unless introductory).

In Boe. we find the infinite verb after the finite verb in principal clauses, before it in subordinate ones. In the former I know of no exception to this rule, but there are a considerable number of subordinate clauses with postverbal type (a. 60 to 80). The most conspicuous influence on the position is here that of the clause (the series being the same in almost all instances, the subj. a pers. pron., and the infinite verb, an infinitive in most of them). The causal clauses thus give about 25 postverbal inst. to a couple of preverbal; substantive clauses fluctuate; the others, as a rule, are preverbal. This is true of the infinitive as well as of the past participle (the other infinite verbs being too few to be discussed). OETs has only preverbal type (2 princ. clauses).

The same may be said about Wu. (there is one exceptional principal clause); about 80 preverbal, and about 50 postv. instances in subordinate clauses; those with the infinitive and the past participle stand in much the same ratio. The causal clauses are here few, substantive clauses and conditional clauses somewhat more in number (about 15, resp. 10) without decided preverbal type; the most numerous are relative clauses, also fluctuating (about 25 preverbal to about 20 postverbal); but temporal, comparative, and interr. clauses have a marked preverbal type.

In the other purely Anglo-Saxon texts there is still more fluctuation in subordinate clauses, even in rel. and

temporal, while principal clauses show only postverbal type. There is scarcely any distinction, as to position, between different kinds of the former, nor between the infinitive and the past participle. In AG the postverbal type is far superior even in subordinate clauses. Only some rel. and interrogative instances here take preverbal type; it is to be noted in this text that the rel. clauses have only preverbal type (1 exception), the temporal only postverbal (mostly with the past participle).

In OEH the postverbal type is not so marked in subordinate clauses (with the other type it is in the proportion 3:2). On the whole it is only rel., temp. and comp. clauses that have preverbal type, though inferior to the postverbal, at least in 1 and 7. There is no decided influence on the part of the subject or the infinite verb.

As for the relative position of the infinite verb and a postverbal long subj., or dem. pron. when a subj., the postsubjectival type has a decided superiority in Boe., Wu., and OEH, a decided inferiority in AG; there is a strong fluctuation in other texts, with no decided superiority on any side. It is remarkable that the texts which have the strongest preverbal type have the strongest postsubjectival (Boe., Wu.), while, on the contrary, AG with its decided postverbal character shows an equally decided presubjectival type (for the explanation of this fact in AG see the following page).

The infinite verb (as well as the modifier, cf. p. 165) always follows the personal pron. when an inverted subj.

For other remarks regarding this section, see pp. 188, 189.

I give first some instances of the rules:
and seo Gesceadwisnes ongan sprecan Boe. 60. and swælce hi woldan beon þeah þu, etc. 44. Feower and twentig tida beoð agane Man. 10. Sċs Paulus apostolus wæs sprecende Wu. 235. þa þa hine Cirus Pærsa cýning gefangen hæfde Boe. 22. forþam hit is wundorlic þæt ic secgan wille 70. Gif þonne þisse worulde wlite and wela to wilnienne nis 42. Ic wiste þæt þu utafaren wære 8. Ic wene þæt ðu mæge gemunan þæt, etc. 50. for þý nan mon ne mæg oþþsacan þæt etc. 134. — — — swâ þæt ys, þæt gedôn byð AG 124. þonne he bið foreset 271. for hit is awriten OEH I 127. Ne fremede us na þing þet he were iboren ibid. sechinde hwen he maȝe fordon ibid. þet is þet [loc] þeðe deofel ne con unlucan ibid. alswa hit is awriten 129.

Eac is ðeos bisen to geþencenne Boe. 78. ac me hæfde þios unrotnes amerredne 172. þonne mæg heora wiðerwinnan sceamjan Wu. 199. þanne beð þe sýnne forgiuen OEH II 29. of fido byð gefêged confido ic trûwige, etc. (the subj. in such instances is very long, as a rule, in AG, which may be the cause of the presubjectival type being here so frequent) AG 204. on þam fæce synd ge-tealde feower and twentig tida Man. 3. Soðlice on þam heofenlicum eðele nis nan niht ge-hæfd 5. Ac simle him wolde þæt fýlgean Boe. 100. oþþe ne mot ic dón þæt ic wylle Ma. 160. Ða iherde hie seggen þat, etc. OEH II 143.

Instances of exceptions to the rules:
ic abba geroefa cyðe and writan hate OETs 447. ic badanoð beotting cyðo and writan hato 449. — Hu mæg þæt ýfel beon þæt te ælces monnes ingeþanc wenþ þæt te god sie. and æfter higaþ. and wilnaþ to begitanne Boe. 86. Swa swa seo beo sceal losian.

þonne heo, etc. 112. nu ge gehyrdon, hu he biđ geboren Wu. 193. — — — þâ geswuteljađ þâ þing, þe bêođ geâgnode AG 15. he specđ of þet wes to cumene alse hit icumene were (chiasmus) OEH I 155. hwenne ho hom biđohten þet heo isuneged hefden ibid.

in þam dæge ûs byđ ætêowed seo geopenung heofena and engla þrym and helwihta hryre, etc. (there are several coordinate subjects, which accounts for the presubjectival type here and in some other instances; cf. above AG) Wu. 186. to þe ođer wurđ iseid þat lođeliche word. and ateliche. and grisliche (the subj. is rather long, cf. above AG) OEH II 5. Ne biđ nân participium gefêged AG 253.

Instances with more than one infinite verb have always postverbal, resp. postsubjectival type.

II. Clauses with modifiers.

Such instances, if arranged on the same principles as those in tables 5—12, would not give us any idea of the various positions here in use, being too heterogeneous and, at the same time, too few. We cannot get the true survey except by collecting homogeneous instances of the different texts in the same group. However, the tables 14—18 are not altogether collective: the upper section (I) I reserve for instances belonging to the texts previous to OEH, the lower (II) for those in OEH. But in order to study the single texts as carefully as possible in this chapter too, I will take the most important cases in the tables and state to what extent the texts are represented by them. As

the tables will be used also in Chapter VII, the position of the modifiers will also be indicated.

Ser. 1. = princ. declarative clauses with a subj., not inverted, or else without one; 2 = the corresponding subordinate clauses; 3 = princ. declarative and subordinate clauses with an inverted long subj. (those with an inverted personal pron. as subj. have always the infinite verbs and the modifiers after them, and therefore need not be further discussed here). Only instances with an auxiliary and *one* infinite verb are included in the tables; excluded also are instances with the infinite verb introductory (see pp. 93, 100), or belonging, not to the auxiliary, but to a modifier (e. g. Sw. grammar 'infinitiv-attribut'); lastly, instances where an infinite verb, or a clause, is the subj., and such instances in 1, 2 as cannot positively be referred to principal or subordinate clauses.

In every series the numbers are arranged in the following way: instances with one modifier (m; i = inf. verb, f = finite verb or subj.):

to the left in line 1 mif, line 2 imf, line 3 mfi
to the right „ „ „ fmi, „ „ fim, „ „ ifm;

instances with two modifiers:
to the left 1. 1 mmif, l. 2 mimf, l. 3 immf, l. 4 mmfi,
in the middle „ „ mfmi, „ „ mfim, „ „ imfm, „ „ mifm,
to the right „ „ fmmi, „ „ fmim, „ „ fimm, „ „ ifmm;
instances with more than two modifiers are designated in the same way, as regards the first two of these; the other modifiers will be marked thus:

a long modifier before the inf. v., in heavy type; after the inf. v., in heavy typed figures with';
„ short „ „ the inf. v., in italics, after the inf. v., in italics with';

a long modifier before the fin. v. when this precedes the inf., with the sign :;

„ short „ „ the fin. v. when this precedes the inf., with the sign .;

in the tables, i, p, pr, g, signify infinitive, past participle, present participle, gerund respectively; there are no minimi-totals, but all instances with all the qualifications mentioned above are included; in discussing the instances we cannot, then, use the same exhaustive method as in the case of tables 5—12; this table more resembles one of the schemes used in former chapters. Numbers within parentheses in ser. 3. = subordinate clauses. —

The place to the left is designated in tables 14, 15 by one dash after it,

„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ tables 16, 17, 18 by two dashes after it,

„ „ in the middle „ „ „ tables 16, 17, 18 by a dash on each side,

„ „ to the right „ „ „ tables 14, 15 by one dash before it,

„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ tables 16, 17, 18 by two dashes before it.

In the tables the following examples are not included: Anglo-Saxon: princ. clauses with direct order: 1 P f short adv. short mod. i long mod., 1 P f short adv. short mod. long. mod. i long mod., 1 f P short adv. long mod. short mod. i, 1 short adv. short adv. f short mod. i long mod., 1 f short adv. short adv. long mod. i long mod., 1 f short adv. pP long mod. p long mod., 3 f long adv. Obj. long mod. i long mod., 1 long adv. f pN long mod. g long mod., 1 short adv. long adv. long mod. f long mod. i long mod., 1 short adv. Adv. C f short mod. long mod. p, 1 f short adv. Obj. long mod. i long mod., 1 short adv. f pN long

mod. i short mod., 1 short adv. pN f short mod. long mod. i, 1 f short adv. pN short mod. i long mod., 1 f short adv. pN short mod. long mod. i; subordinate clauses with direct order: 1 f P short adv. long mod. p long mod., 1 f short adv. short adv. long mod. p long mod., 1 long adv. long adv. f long mod. short mod. i, 1 long adv. f i pN short mod. long mod., 1 f pN pN i short mod. long mod., 1 Adv. C pN f long mod. long mod. i long mod., 1 P long adv. f long mod. short mod. i, 1 P f pN short mod. i long mod., 1 short adv. f long adv. long mod. i long mod., 1 f short adv. Obj. short mod. i long mod., 1 short adv. pN f long mod. i long mod.; Semi-Saxon: subordinate clauses with direct order: 1 f Obj. pN i (preceded by *for*, *to*) short mod. long mod., 1 f i Obj. pN short mod. long mod., 1 f i pN pN short mod. long mod., 1 f P i pN short mod. long mod.

Among examples with more than two modifiers in tables 16, 17, 18, there are a number (ab. 65) with four or five modifiers. Part of them will be given pp. 183—185.

On surveying the tables we find that

1) the infinite verb has a fairly decided postverbal position in most groups; the postsubjectival, not so prominent on account of the scarcity of the examples, is still far superior to the presubjectival;

2) there is, however, a marked differentiation between princ. and subordinate clauses, when the order is direct, for in the latter the preverbal type occurs, on the whole, with the same frequency as the postverbal, occasionally somewhat greater or less, according to the groups and the texts;

3) the modifiers seem to have some influence, too, on the position of the infinite verb, insomuch as we meet with the preverbal position of it more frequently when combined with a short modifier than when governing only long ones:

thus the preverbal type is decidedly superior to the other in table 15 I 2, table 16 P-Adv. I 2, table 17 Adv.-Adv. I 2; almost equal to it in table 14 in the adverb-groups I 2, table 16 P-pN, Adv.-Obj. I 2; otherwise it is inferior;

4) there is a strong tendency during the course of time, to change the preverbal type into the postverbal, for in II the latter everywhere predominates, and when this predominancy is met with in I, the superiority is still more decided in II; there are altogether about 20 princ. and about 60 subordinate clauses with preverbal infinite verb in II. The presubjectival type too, begins to disappear in OEH: I count only 18 instances here. (62 in I; altogether, there are more instances in I than in II, but only in the proportion 2 : 1).

5) It seems as if the infinitive were more liable to preverbal order than is the past participle in table 14; this is shown in all representative groups, except in Obj. II 2; in table 15 there is such a case in Other adv. II 2 (contrasted by P, pP I 2, the other groups and series giving zero-cases and dubious cases); in table 17, the rule is quite the reverse, for here the past participle has a relatively more frequent preverbal position in P Obj. I, II 1, P pN I 1, II, 1, 2, but especially in Adv. Adv., Adv. Obj. (Pr), Adv. pN I 2; there is only 1 exception (not very important): P Obj. II, 2, the other groups and series giving only zero-cases and dubious cases. In table 18 we find the latter rule followed in Adv. Adv. I, II 2, Adv. Obj. (Pr.) I, II 1, Adv. pN II 1, pN pN I 2. Exceptions are Adv. pN I 2, Obj. (Pr.) pN II 1. — But in the few (and not very important) cases with inversion, we can perceive the following rule running through: *the past participle stands oftener before the subj. than does the infinitive.*

I now proceed to examine the most important cases more closely. *Table 14: Adv. of indef. t.* I 2. Boe.: 6 mpf

(rel. and temp.) 1 mfp (substantive-clause) 1 fmp (causa clause), Wu. 6 mpf (rel. and temp.) 4 mfp (causal, substantivel interr.) 5$\frac{1}{2}$ fmp (comp. and rel.); II 2 1 : 2 mfi 5 fmi. ***Modal adv.*** I 1. Boe. has 4 fmp, 1 fpm; I 2 Boe. 4 fmp (causal, comp.) 4 mpf (also causal and subst.), AG 1 mpf 3 fmp 1 fpm, Wu. 2 mpf 1 mfp 3 fmp; Boe. 7 mif (rel., temp. interr., cons.) 2 mfi 13 fmi (5 final, the others rel., comp., cons., causal, and subst. cl.) 2 ifm, Wu. 6 mif (4 rel.) 2 fmi; II 2 7: 6 fmp. ***Local adv.*** II 2 7: 1 mfi 6 fmi. ***Obj. (Pr.)*** I 1 Boe. 4 fmp 5 fpm 2 pfm, Ma. 1 fmp 5 fpm, AG 7 fmp 37 fpm, Wu. 17 fmp 4 fpm; Boe. 3 mif 7 mfi 1 fmi 17 fim, Ma. 3 mif 3 fmi 3 fim, AG 1 fmi 9 fim, PD 2 fmi 9 fim, Wu. 4 fmi 19 fim; I 2 Boe. 9 mpf (6 temp.) 6 mfp (temp., rel. and causal) 13 fpm (3 rel., 4 subst.) 5 fmp 2 pfm; Ma. 1 mfp 7 fmp (6 temp.) 7 fpm 5 fmp (3 rel.) 10 fpm (8 rel.), Wu. 8 (4 rel.) mpf 3 mfp; Boe. 20 mif (10 rel., 5 cond.) 13 mfi (also some rel.) 33 fmi (13 subst. cl.), 37 fim (18 subst. cl.), Wu 28 mif (4 rel., 8 cond., 6 subst. cl.) 2 imf 9 mfi (5 rel.) 28 fmi (8 rel., 3 fin., 5 subst.) 24 fim (4 rel., 12 cond., 6 subst.) 6 ifm (3 rel., 2 subst. cl.), AT 1 mif 4 fmi 3 fim 1 ifm; I 3 AG 1 pfm 2 fpm 2 pfm, Wu. 3 fmp 2 fpm; Boe. 3 fmi 4 fim, Wu. 1 mfi 6 fmi 11 fim 1 ifm; II 1 1 : 2 fmp 11 fpm, 2: 1 fmp 10 fpm, 7 : 20 fpm, 8 : 3 fmp 4 fpm 1 pfm; 1 : 2 fmi 17 fim, 2 : 2 fmi 9 fim, 7 : 4 fmi 15 fim; II 2 1 : 5 fmp 5 fpm; 2 : 1 mpf 1 mfp 5 fmp 2 fpm, 7 : 1 mpf 1 mfp 12 fmp (6 temp., 4 rel.) 13 fpm (7 rel.); 1 : 3 mfi 17 fmi (4 subst. cl.) 22 fim (9 subst., 4 cond.), 2 : 1 mif 1 mfi 4 fmi 2 fim, 7: 3 mfi 21 fmi (4 subst., 6 rel.) 13 fim (5 rel.) 1 ifm, 8 : 5 fmi (2 rel., 3 subst.) 3 fim (subst.); II 3 7 : 1 pmf 4 fpm; 1 : 1 fmi 6 fim. ***pN*** I 1 Boe. 3 fmp 4 fpm, Ma. 3 fmp 8 fpm, AG 5 fmp 4 fpm, Wu. 9 fmp 12 fpm; Boe. 4 fmi 10 fim, AG 5 fim, Wu. 5 fmi 10 fim 1 ifm; I 2 Boe. 6 mpf 2 pmf 2

mfp 15 fmp (6 subst., 3 rel.) 20 fpm (4 temp, 5 causal, 4 subst.) 4 pfm, Ma 7 mpf (6 rel.) 4 pmf 11 fmp (3 subst.) 13 fpm (5 rel.) 2 pfm, Man 2 mpf 3 fmp 6 fpm (5 rel.), AG 6 fmp 18 fpm (5 cond., 10 rel.), PD 2 mpf 1 mfp 9 fpm (5 rel.) 1 pfm, Wu. 19 mpf (11 rel.) 2 pmf 1 mfp 14 fmp (7 rel.) 19 fpm (10 subst., 4 interr.) 5 pfm; Boe. 2 mif 5 imf 4 mfi 7 fmi 22 fim (4 subst., 3 causal, 4 interr., 3 rel.) 3 ifm, Ma. 1 fmi 5 fim (3 subst.), Wu. 13 mif (9 rel.) 1 imf 1 mfi 5 fmi 15 fim (5 subst.) 6 ifm; I 3 Boe. 1 mpf 2 pmf 1 fmp 4 pfm, Ma. 2 mpf 1 mfp 1 fmp 2 pfm, AG 1 mpf 1 pmf 3 fmp 12 fpm 2 pfm; Boe. 2 fmi 4 fim; II 1 1:1 fmp 16 fpm, 2:4 fmp 8 fpm, 4:6 fpm, 7:1 mpf 2 mfp 2 fmp 15 pfm; 1:12 fim, 2:3 fmi 4 fim, 7:2 fmi 5 fim 1 ifm; II 2 1:1 mfp 5 fmp 23 fpm (12 rel., 3 subst., 3 causal) 2 pfm, 2:2 mpf 1 mfp 5 fmp (rel.) 9 fpm (4 rel.), 4:3 fmp 3 pfm, 7:6 fmp 21 fpm (9 rel., 4 temp., 3 cond.) 1 pfm; 1:1 mif 2 fmi 13 fim (6 subst.), 2:3 fmi 4 fim, 7:1 mif 1 mfi 4 fmi 6 fim 1 ifm; II 3 1:1 fmp 3 pfm 1 pfm, 2:6 fmp 1 pfm.

Tab. 15. *P* I 1 Ma. 3 mfp 2 fpm; Boe. 3 mfi 2 fmi 1 fim, PD 1 mif 6 mfi 1 fim, Wu. 4 mfi 2 fmi; I 2 Boe. 12 mpf (9 rel.) 2 fmp, Wu 6 mpf 1 fpm; Boe. 26 mif (5 subst., 5 cond., 8 rel., 3 temp.) 12 mfi (5 subst.) 2 fmi, Ma. 1 mif 2 mfi 2 fmi 1 fim; Wu. 17 mif (9 rel.) 11 mfi (4 subst.); II 1 1:1 mif 11 mfi 4 mif 1 ifm; 7:3 mfi, 4 fmi 2 fim; II 2 7:2 mpf 3 mfp; 1:1 mif 6 mfi, 7:6 mif 7 mfi 1 fmi 4 fim. *D* I 2 Boe. 5 mif 1 fmi 5 fim, Wu. 6 mif 1 mfi 1 fmi 1 fim 1 ifm. *Other adv.* I 1 AG 4 fmp 2 fpm; Boe. 5 fmi 1 ifm; I 2 Boe. 6 mpf 1 mfp 6 fmp, AG 2 mpf 1 mfp 4 fmp 4 fpm, Wu. 9 mpf (5 cond.) 1 mfp 1 fmp; Boe. 11 mif 7 fmi (4 subst), Wu. 7 mif 1 imf 2 mfi 1 fmi; II 2 1:2 mfp 6 fmp (4 rel.), 7:1 mpf

2 mfp 7 fmp; 7 : 1 mif 4 fmi. *pP* I 2 Ma. 5 mpf 2 pmf 2 fpm 1 pfm; Wu. 4 mif 3 fmi.

Table 16. P Adv. I 2 Boe. 4 mmpf 1 mmfp 2 mmpmf 1 mmpfm 1 mfmmp 1 fmmp, Wu. 5 mmpf; Boe. 1 mmmfi 2 mmimf 1 mfmmi 1 fmmi, Wu. 2 mmif 1 mmfi 1 mfmmi 1 mfmim 1 mifmm 1 fmmi. *Adv. Adv.* I 2 Wu. 2 mmpf 1 mfpm 1 mpfm 1 fmmmp.

Table 17. P Adv. I 1 Boe. 3 mfmi 5 mfmim 2 fmmi 1 fmmmi; I 2 Boe. 2 mmif 2 mmmif 1 mmmmif, 3 mmfi 2 mmfim 3 mfmi 1 mfmim 1 mfim 1 fmmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmimm; II : 1 1 : 2 mfmim 1 mfim 1 mfimm 1 fmmmi 1 fmim 1 fimm. *P. Obj.* I 2 Wu. 1 mfmp 2 mpfm 1 fmpmm 1 fpmmmm; Boe. 1 mimf 1 mfmi 6 mfim 1 mfimm 1 mifm 1 fmim, Wu. 1 mmif 1 mmmif 1 mfmi 1 mfim 1 mifmm 1 fmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmimm 3 fmim; II 1 1 : 6 mfim 1 fimm 1 fmim 1 fmimm. *P pN* I 1 Boe. 4 mfmi 2 mfimm 1 mifm 1 fmim 2 fmimm; I 2 Boe. 4 mfpm 1 mpfm, Wu. 2 mmpf 1 mmmpf 1 mmfp 2 mfpm 2 mpfm; Boe. 2 mmif 1 mfmi 1 mfmmi 3 mfim 1 mfimm 1 fmmi, Wu. 1 mmif 1 mmmmif 1 mimf 1 mmfmi 1 mfmi 1 mfmim 1 mfim 4 mifm 1 fmmi; II 1 2 : 2 fmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmmi 1 fmim, 7 : 1 mifm 2 fmim 2 fimm; II 2 1 : 2 mfmi 2 mfim 1 mfimm 1 fmmi 1 fmim 1 fmimmm, 7 : 1 mfmi 1 mfim 1 mfimm 1 fmim 1 fmimm 1 fimm. *Adv. Adv.* I 2 Boe. 1 mmpfm 1 mpmmf 1 mmfp 1 mmfmp 1 fmmp, Wu. 3 mmpf 2 mmpfm 2 mmmpf 1 mpmf; Boe. 4 mmif 1 mmifm 1 mmfim 1 ifmm 3 fmmi 1 fimm, Wu. 3 mmif 1 mmfmmi 1 mfmmi 1 mfmmim 1 fmmim 1 fmmimm 1 fimmm 1 ifmmm. *Adv. Obj.* I 1 Boe. 1 mfmpm 2 fmmp 1 fmmpm 1 fmmmp, AG 1 fmmpm 6 fmpm, Wu. 1 mfmp 1 fmmp 2 fmmpmm 1 fmmmp 1 fmpm; Boe. 1 mfmi 1 mfmim 1 mifm 1 fmmim 1 fmmmi 2 fmim 2

fmimm 2 fmmi, Wu. 1 fmmi 2 fmmim 1 fmmmim 1 fmmmmi 2 fmim; I 2 Boe. 35 mmpf (34 temp.) 3 mmmpf 1 fmmp (p = pred. compl. in this last inst.), Wu. 1 mfmp 2 mfmpm 1 mfmmp 1 mpfm 1 mpfmm 1 fmmmp 2 fmpmmm; Boe. 1 mmif 2 mfmi 3 mfim 1 mfimm 2 mifm 2 fmmi 2 fmim 1 fmimm, Wu. 1 mmfi 4 mfmi 3 mfmmi 1 mfim 1 mfimmmm 2 mifm 6 fmmi 1 fmmmim 2 fmim. *Adv. pN.* I 2 Boe. 2 mmpf 1 mmfp 2 mfmp 1 mfmmmp 1 mfpm 1 mpfm 1 fpmm, Wu. 5 mmpf 1 mmfp 1 mfpm 1 mfpmm 2 fmmp 1 fmpm 1 fmpmm 2 fpmm; Boe. 1 mmif 1 mfmi 2 mifm 2 fmmi 1 ifmm, Wu. 1 mmif 1 mmfmi 1 mfmmi 5 mfim 1 mfimm 1 fmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmimmm 1 fmmmi 1 fmim 2 fmimm.

Table 18. Adv. Obj. I 1 Boe. 1 mfmi 2 fmmi 1 fmim 1 fimm, Wu. 11 fmmi 1 fmmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmmim 4 fmim 1 fmimm 1 fmimmm 3 fimm; I 2 Boe. 1 mmpf 3 mfpm 1 mpfm 1 fmmp 1 fmpm 1 fmpmm, Wu. 1 mmpf 1 mmfp 3 mfmp 1 mfpm 1 fmmmp 1 pfmm; Boe. 4 mmif 1 mmfi 1 mmfim 5 mfmi 3 mfmim 2 mfim 7 fmmi 2 fmim 1 fmimm 1 fimm, Wu. 4 mmif 1 mmmif 1 mmfmi 7 mfmi 1 mfmmi 1 mfim 2 mfimm 1 mfimmm 1 mifm 7 fmmi 1 fmmim 1 fmmmi 2 fmmmmi 2 fmim 1 fimmm 1 ifmm; II 2 1: 1 mfmi 2 fmmi 3 fmim 1 fimmm. *Adv. pN* I 1 Boe. 1 mfpm 1 fmmp 3 fmpm 1 fmpmm, Wu. 1 fmmpm 4 fmpm 1 fpmm; Wu. 1 mfim 2 fmmi 2 fmmim 1 fmmimmm 3 fmmmi 1 fmim 1 fmimm; I 2 Boe. 2 mfmp 2 fmpm 2 fmpmm, Wu. 1 mmpf 2 mmpfm 1 mfpmm 2 mpfm 1 mpfmm 4 fmmp 2 fmpm 1 fmpmm 1 fpmm 1 fpmmm; Boe. 3 mmif 1 mmfmimm 1 mfmi 1 mfim 1 mifmm 1 fmmi 1 fmim 2 fmimm 1 fmimmm 1 mifm, Wu. 4 mmif 1 mmimf 1 mmfmi 2 mfmim 3 mfmmi 1 mfim 3 fmmi 1 fmmmi 1 fmim 2 fimm 1 fimmm. *Obj. Obj.* I 2 Boe. 1 mmif 1

mfim 4 fmmi 8 fmim 1 fmimm 4 fimm 1 fimmm, Wu. 1 mmif 2 mmfi 3 mfmi 1 fmmi 1 fmmmi 1 fmimm 1 fimm. *Obj.* *pN* I 1 Boe. 1 fmpm 5 fpmm, AG 1 fmmp 1 fmpm 3 fpmm, Wu. 1 mfpm 3 fmmp 1 fmpm 1 fmpmm; Boe. 1 fmmi 1 fmmmi 1 fmim 2 fimm, Wu. 1 mfmi 1 mfmmmmi 1 mfim 1 mfimmm 1 fmmi 1 fmmmmi 2 fmim 3 fmimm 8 fimm 1 fimmm; I 2 Boe. 2 mmpf 1 mfpm 1 fmpm 1 fpmm, Wu. 1 mmpf 1 mmfp 1 mfmp 1 mfpm 1 mfpmmm 1 mpfm 1 fmmp 1 fmmmp 3 fmmp 1 fpmmm; Boe. 2 mmif 1 mmfim 3 mfmi 1 mfmmi 3 mfim 1 mifm 5 fmmi (4 subst. cl.) 1 fmmmi 12 fmim (5 subst. cl.) 7 fimm (5 subst. cl.) 1 fimmm, Wu. 3 mmif 1 mimf 2 immf 2 mmfi 2 mfmi 1 mfmmi 4 mfim 1 mfimm 8 mifm (3 subst., 3 rel.) 9 fmmi (6 subst.) 7 fmim (4 rel.) 7 fimm 2 fimmm 2 ifmm; II 1 1: 2 fmim 5 fimm 1 ifmm, 2: 2 fmmi 1 fmmmi 1 fmim 1 fimm 2 fimmm, 7: 4 fmmi 1 fmmimm 1 fmmmi 1 ifmm, 8: 1 mfim 4 mifm 1 fimm; II 2 1: 1 mfpm 2 fmpm 3 fpmm, 7: 2 mfpm 1 fmmp 1 fmpm 1 fpmm; 1: 1 mmif 2 mmfi 4 fmmi 1 fmmimm 6 fmim 7 fimm (3 subst., 3 cond.), 2: 1 mfmi 1 mfmimm 2 fmmi 5 fmim 8 fimm, 3, 5, 6: 2 mmfi 1 mfmi 3 fmmi 2 fmim 1 fimmm, 7: 2 fmmi 1 fmim 3 fimm. *pN pN* I 1 Ma. 1 fmmpm 2 fmpm 2 fpmm 1 fpmmm; Wu. 1 mfmimm 1 mfmmi 1 fmmi 1 fmim 1 fmimmmm; I 2 Boe. 1 mfpm 1 fmpm 2 fpmm 1 fpmmm, Ma. 2 mpfm 1 fmmp 3 fmpm 1 pfmm; Wu. 1 mfmmi 3 fmmi 2 fmmimm 2 fmmmi 1 fmmmmi 5 fmim 1 fimm.

The rules given pp. 179—180 apply to the different texts with the following modifications:

Boe. and Wu.:

1) Wu. has a more developed preverbal type than Boe. in subordinate clauses in tables 14, 15; for this type prevails in Wu. in the groups Obj. (past part.), P 1, and

Other adv. (in Boe. only in P); Wu. has also a relatively strong preverbal type in pN and pP (almost equal to the postverbal; cf. 3)). In 17 this type prevails in Boe. only in Adv.-Obj. (past part., 38 : 1), in Wu. only in Adv.-Adv. (past part.); in other groups it is either equal to the postverbal, or inferior to it (cf. 3). In 18 the representative cases show a marked postverbal type (cf. 3). — The postsubjectival is superior, except in Boe. pN (past part.)

2) The differentiation between princ. and sub. clauses is rather decided, insomuch as there are very few cases of preverbal type in princ. clauses (most of them belonging to Boe.).

3) The gradation between the groups as to the preverbal position of the infinite verb manifests itself best in sub. clauses in tables 14, 15, for here the groups P, D, and Other adv. have prevailing preverbal type when the groups with long modifiers show, on the whole, variation between the two types (Wu.; variation even in D and pP; prevailing postverbal type only in Obj.-infinitive), and variation, when in the latter groups the postverbal type is superior (Boe.; variation even in Mod. adv.; prevailing preverbal type in P). In 17 Boe. has the postverbal type more marked in the groups containing P; Wu., in the groups Adv.-Obj.-infinitive, Adv.-pN-infinitive; in the other (more unimportant) cases this text shows variation between the types (in sub. clauses). In 18 there can scarcely be established any gradation in this respect: the cases with the infinitive have a fairly decided postverbal type in both texts (least, however, in Obj.-pN Wu.: 16 : 35); those with the past part., being less representative, show variation.

It may be doubted whether, on account of these facts (cf. especially: Boe. (short) Adv.-Obj.-p 38 : 1, Wu. Obj.-pN-i

16 : 35), the preverbal type ought to be considered best preserved in Boe., or in Wu.

As for the other Anglo-Saxon texts, they are not represented by so many important cases. But we can perceive in them a greater tendency to postverbal type. In principal clauses we seldom find examples of the preverbal type (3 in Ma. to 8 in Boe. and 1 in Wu.); in subordinate clauses there are some rare instances of preverbal type, most of them are to be found in Ma. (Ma.: pN-p 13 : 24, P-i 1 : 5, pP-p 8 : 2, pN pN-p 3 : 4; Man: pN-p 2 : 9; AG Mod. adv.-p 1 : 4, Other (short) adv.-p 2 : 9; PD pN-p 3 : 10). In most of these cases, the preverbal type is decidedly inferior to the other, being superior to it only in Ma. pP-p. — We meet with 3 examples of presubjectival (to 2 of postsubjectival) type in AG Obj.-p.

The predilection for the postverbal type is more conspicuous in 1 than in 7 in pN-p (1 has here 0 : 14; 7 16 : 4) princ. cl.; pN-i (1 has 1 : 15; 7, 2 : 11), P-i (1 has 1 : 6; 7, 6 : 12) sub. cl.; vice versa, 7 has a relatively more frequent postverbal type in P-i (1 has 6 : 11; 7, 0 : 9) in principal, in Obj.-i (1 has 3 : 40; 7, 1 : 37), pN-p (1 has 2 : 29; 7, 1 : 27) in subordinate clauses. Other cases scarcely show any gradation in this respect, partly because of their being zero-cases. On the whole we cannot, then, draw any positive conclusion as to which of these texts favours the preverbal type of the infinite verb more than does the other. — As for the position of the infinite verb with relation to the subj., there are no representative cases where we can make any direct comparison between the texts.

In some cases it seems as if the past part. were more liable to preverbal type than the infinitive (e. g. in princ. cl. 7 : pN; in sub. cl. Boe. Mod. adv., (short) Adv.-Obj.;

Wu. Obj., P.-Obj., (short) Ad.-pN, not counting the cases where there are only some few instances of the former verb but more frequent of the latter, cf. 3); to be noted are also the other texts with almost only the past part. preceding the finite verb. They are hardly outweighed by some principal clauses with a preverbal infinitive, there being, on the whole, more instances with an infinitive than with a past participle. If we compare this fact with what is said p. 180, 5), there is some reason for believing that *the past part. had, at some time, more tendency than the infinitive to preverbal type.*

On perusing the schemes pp. 180—185 we find that the preverbal cases are mostly met with in rel., temp., and cond. clauses. This coincides with what is said p. 162, in part also with the statements pp. 173, 174, about the influence of the clauses on the position with relation to the finite verb.

Of the remarks I furnish below, each may include cases belonging to a preceding one (not vice versa).

1. Instances with a stress-verb and an infinite verb show the same tendencies as the above. In principal clauses with direct order, we very seldom meet with the preverbal type (about 10 inst., not counting 3 where the infinite verb is the subj., and some where it is introductory); in the corresponding subordinate clauses these cases are twice as many; only some few belong to OEH. — The inverted order here being rather rare, I have found only 4 instances with presubjectival type where the subj. is long; none, where it is short.

2. As for interrogative clauses and clauses of command, or of wishing, the postverbal, resp. the postsubjectival type is here completely carried out. I know only 1 exception to this rule (AG: pmmf, the two modifiers being two short adverbs; besides, of course, instances with introductory infinite verb).

3. Clauses where an infinite verb is the subj. are already treated of (p. 137). When the subj. has special claims to standing at the end, by being itself a clause, or a rel. pron., the type is, of course, presubjectival (in some few cases half-introductory, cf. p. 136). In a couple of cases (Ma.) where such a pronoun subj. precedes the finite verb, the infinite is postverbal (this remark applies also to the preceding section of this chapter).

4. There are three instances with a deputy subj. and an inf. verb. In one of them, the infinite verb follows the last subj., in the other two it stands between the deputy subj. and the logical subj. (AG 110, 295).

5. When the subj. is inverted and followed by a clause determining it, the infinite verb always follows the subj., but most often precedes the clause (this remark applies also to the preceding section).

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6. When there are more infinite verbs than one in the clause, they are almost exclusively placed after the finite verb, or after the subj. I have only found the following exceptions to this rule: *with circumverbal type:* Boe. VIII, 166 (in both a part. as subjectival modifier stands before the fin. verb), Ma., 96, Wu. 294, 6 281, all of them subordinate clauses; *with presubjectival type:* Ma.

222 (the subj. is followed and determined by a clause), 7 171, 8 159; *with circumsubjectival type:* Wu. 88, 89 (in both an infinitive precedes the subj., a past part. follows it).

This remark applies also to the preceding section.

Instances belonging to this section will be better studied in the two following chapters.

CHAPTER VI.

Two or more infinite verbs.

The syntactical relation between two infinite verbs may be of different kinds.

One of them is the subj.; cf. pp. 163, 169.

One of them is a subjectival or objectival modifier and, at the same time, syntactically connected with the other. When the finite verb is an auxiliary, the infinite verb belongs, of course, also to this. There are no fixed rules for the position of the modifying verb, generally a participle; it may precede or follow the governing one:

Ða lioð þe ic wrecca geo lustbærlice song. ic sceal nu heofiende singan Boe. 4. forðan ðe hî bêoð hlichende geclypode AG 279. ða heht se casere gesponnan fiow(er) wildo hors to scride, and hine gebundenne in ð(æt scrid) ásetton OETs 177. Thus also Boe. 4, 166, Ma. 104, 130, AG 119, 272, OEH.

II 183 with an auxiliary, Ma. 130, PD 126, 128, 134 with a stress-verb. — þæt hio sceolde ealne weg hwearfian on hire selfre — — — smeagende ýmb hire sceoppend Boe. 132. and gyf he byð for-læten un-teald þær rihte awent, etc. Man 14. Ðat halie hired cristes apostles weren wuniende edmodliche on heore ibeoden on ane upflore efter cristes upsti3e onbodinde his bi-hates OEH I 89. on þe grisliche dai. þe heuene and eorðe shulen quakien. of-dred II 169. and het hi faren ofer all middenárd bodiende fulluht. and soð 3eleafen I 229. Thus also OETs 177, Ma. 26, 56, 58, Wu. 214, (224), OEH I 7, 141, II 53, 91, 117, 203 with an auxiliary, PD 128, 130 (2), 134, OEH I 257 with a stress-verb.

A modifier belonging to the infinite verb in question has, of course, some influence on its position, drawing it after the other verb. In other cases the postverbal position is owing to the text itself (esp. OEH).

In the following clause the participle is in no syntactical relation with the infinite verb preceding it:

Ur hlaford sanctes paulus þe is þeoden lareaw. us manеð and mene3ed of sume wepne to nemene þus cweðende OEH I 241.

Ma. (110) and OEH (II 69) afford us other instances of two infinite verbs being in no relation with each other.

The connection between the two verbs may be a closer one than that in the above cases. Such are the majority of instances, and, as a rule, the governing verb precedes the other verb:

and (viz. þæt þu woldest) swiþe swiþlice beon onæled mid ðære gitsunge Boe. 78. þæt witod (= witodlice?) sceal geweorðan godspel gecyþed geond ealle woruld ær worulde ende Wu. 89. Bi þat ilke met — — —

shal ben meten ȝiwer mede OEH II 159. ac lustlice hi woldon lætan ða rican hie tucian æfter hiora agnum willan Boe. 210. halie chirch[e þa] cladeș þet weren isende ut of þ[es kinges huse] for to binden þe rapes mid OEH I 51. þat wes i-wunet to beon fulitohen 267. Broht biforen sinfule men þa heaðene hundes of ham to beo demet 279; etc.

I have found the following exceptions to this rule: forðam þurh þæt we magan mycle þe yð raðe gehælede weorðan Wu. 103. þe nyde sculan of cyricgemanan þas halgan tid ascadene mid rihte weorðan for healican synnan ibid. Besides PD 102, OEH I 281.

CHAPTER VII.

Modifier and infinite verb.

I.

Table 14[1]) proves the preverbal type to be superior in the adverbial groups and in Obj., I 2; otherwise it is inferior (in pN I 2, however, almost equal) to the other; in 15 and 16 there is a universal predominancy of the preverbal type in the representative groups; in 17, 18 only in the groups containing an adv. in I. Otherwise it is counterbalanced or outweighed by the circumverbal and post-

[1]) In 14, 15 only the numbers in the first two lines, in the other tables in the first, second, and third lines to the left and to the right are taken into consideration.

verbal types. — The instances in 3 being rather few, the rules are here not so distinct; but the distribution of the cases does not prevent us from supposing the same rules to apply to the presubjectival type as to the preverbal.

This much about the influence of the modifier itself on its position. The influence of the clause is strongly marked in most groups in 14, as also in several belonging to the other tables. No important group forms an exception to the rule that *the preverbal type is relatively stronger in subordinate than in principal clauses.* It is remarkable that this influence extends to the determination of the position of the modifier with relation to the infinite verb. As for the influence of this verb, some groups (Obj. II 1, 2, pN II 1, P I 2, Other adv. I 1, 2, long Adv.-pN I 1, Obj.-pN II 1, pN-pN I 2) suggest that the past participle is more liable to postverbal, resp. postsubjectival type than the infinitive; in some other groups (Mod. adv. II 2, Obj. I 3, pN I 1, 2, short Adv.-long Adv. II 1, short Adv.-Obj. I 2, Obj.-pN I 1) it is vice versa; other groups give us only indifferent, dubious cases, zero-cases, or some too insignificant to admit of any conclusion.

Upon closer examination of the different texts, we shall find that it is especially Boe., Wu., and OEH in which the preverbal type is, in some cases, superior to the others (cf. pp. 158, 163). This type is best manifested in Wu. *Table 14:* in Wu. the preverbal is superior to the postverbal type in most cases (one, Obj.-p, belonging to principal clauses), equal and inferior to it only in the groups pN-p (princ. cl.),-i (subord. cl.), resp. Obj.-i, pN-i (princ. cl.). In Boe. it prevails in the adverb-groups and in Obj.-i (all of them sub. cl.); otherwise there is fluctuation (Obj.-p, princ. cl.), or predominancy of the postverbal type (princ. and subord. cl.); in OEH the case is much the same: in some

texts the preverbal type prevails, not only in the adverb-groups, but also in Obj.-p, sub. cl. (2) and Obj.-i, subord. cl. (7, 8); in others it is equal to the postverbal in these groups (1, 7, resp. 2) or inferior to it (Obj.-i 1, 3); in the pN-groups the postverbal type prevails, except pN-p, sub. cl., where there is fluctuation in 2, 4, pN-i, princ. cl. with fluctuation in 7, and pN-i, sub. cl., with fluctuation in 2 and 7. *Table 15:* In Wu. we find the preverbal type prevailing in all groups, in Boe. only in P, sub. cl., and Adv., princ. cl.; otherwise the postverbal type predominates; in OEH the preverbal type is superior in P-i, princ. cl. (1), and Adv.-p. (1, 7),-i (7), sub. cl.; otherwise there is fluctuation. *Tables 16, 17:* Boe. as well as Wu. has a prevailing preverbal type in all cases; OEH is scarcely represented. *Table 18:* Boe. and Wu. both appear with prevailing preverbal type in most groups (Wu. even in princ. cl., where Boe. shows no representative cases); in Adv.-pN,-i sub. cl., there is fluctuation in Boe. (between the preverbal and the circumverbal type), in Obj.-pN-i, sub. cl., in Wu., and besides in some unimportant cases; the circumverbal type is relatively strong in Boe., Wu. Adv.-pN-p, princ. cl.; in Boe. in Obj.-Obj.-i, sub. cl., Obj.-pN-i, sub. cl.; in Wu. in Obj.-pN-p, princ. cl.; the postverbal in Boe. in Obj.-pN-p, princ. cl.; in Wu. in Obj.-pN-i, princ. cl.; in OEH (7) the preverbal type prevails in Obj.-pN-i, princ. cl.; there is fluctuation in 1 in Obj.-pN-i, sub. cl.; the postverbal type is the strongest (competing with the circumverbal) in 2, Obj.-pN-i, sub. cl.

In other texts, as a rule, the postverbal type prevails, or is equal to the other (Ma. partly in Obj., pN, pP, Man. partly in pN, AG partly in pP).

The presubjectival and circumsubjectival types in the few representative cases have yielded to the postsubjectival.

The influence of the clause appears best in table 14, the cases of prevailing preverbal type in Boe., Wu., and OEH being reserved for subord. clauses, the strong, or prevailing postverbal, in Wu., for princ. cl.; in other texts than Wu. there is on the whole fluctuation or superior postverbal type in both kinds of clauses, most of the former in sub. clauses in Ma. and OEH. — As for the distinction between different kinds of sub. clauses, it is not so marked (cf., however, table 17, *Ad.-Obj.*, subord. cl. Boe.).

The influence of the modifier is prominent in table 14 in Boe. and OEH, in tables 17, 18 in Boe., Wu., where groups containing an adv. have, as a rule, prevailing preverbal type, the others, variation, strong circumverbal type, or prevailing postverbal. In table 15 Boe. makes P mostly preverbal, D and Adv. mostly postverbal; Wu, P (D, and Adv.) mostly preverbal, pP mostly postverbal. The result will be the series P—D—short Ad.—pP, and long Adv.—Obj.—pN, known from Chapter IV.

There are some cases which add to the credibility of the theory that the past part. shows more predilection for the preverbal type than does the infinitive (cf. the schemes, esp. tables 15 and 18).

The examination of the single texts thus gives, on the whole, the same result as the more rapid survey of the collective tables. It is true that in order to study the position with the same exactitude as in Chapter IV we have to subtract from the numbers of the tables 14—18 and their corresponding schemes all instances with some modifier determined by a clause. I count altogether about 200 examples where such a modifier is placed after the infinite verb, about 60 where it keeps its place before it. These 260 examples are distributed in the following manner among the clauses (not including some cases where the modifying

clause precedes the infinite verb; otherwise examples of the same qualifications as those in the tables are included, consequently also examples of some circumverbal types: mfim, mifm fmim, imfm, and others, cf. p. 192, note, and some few examples with a third or fourth modifier determined by a clause):

the modifier precedes the infinite verb I 1 7, 2 37, 3 3, II 1 4, 2 9, 3
„ „ follows „ „ „ „ „ 44, „ 52, „ 7, „ „ 57, „ 36, „ 5

It is of no use giving the corresponding ratios from the tables, as the circumverbal types are neutral there, and the texts may be differently represented in the tables and in the above numbers. But if we compare these ratios with the discussion given pp. 194, 195, we shall find that, on the whole, they agree with it. I give the greatest numbers in the single groups and texts: I 1 Obj. PD 0 : 9, Wu. 0 : 10, 7 0 : 6; 2 Obj. Boe. 5 : 11, Wu. 5 : 8, 1 2 : 6; pN Wu. 0 : 6; D Boe. 2 : 5, Wu. 2 : 4; Obj.-pN Boe. 2 : 4. These numbers subtracted from the most frequent types in the schemes (where they most often correspond to more than one type) would, of course, not materially affect the result obtained above.

Instances of the most representative cases from tables 14—18 (the exceptional cases are put after the more regular ones):

14. 1. þæt fur scal gan biforen OEH I 143. mid þam þeowum ic eom ealne þone heofon ýmbhweorfende Boe. 20. and hie me habbađ gesealdne heora wlencum ibid.[1]) æghwyle man, ge se rîca ge se heanra, sceal þurh sâr sweltan Wu. 148. se is to lufjanne and to

[1]) the clause continues: and getehhod to heora leasum welum, cf. p. 17.

weorđjanne ofer ealle ođre đing 73. and ech eorþe scal hwakien on his ecsene OEH I 143. — ne hie nanne mon geweligian ne magon (it is possible that this clause is subordinate; at least, it is parallel to a temporal one) Boe. 38. Ac ælc mon đe — — — forlæt his sceppend. and his fruman sceaft. and his æþelo. and đonan wýrþ anæþelad 110. sie lýft đonne is genemned 128. and he nænne ne mæg gebringan 114. *15. 1.* Wundorlice cræfte þu hit hæfst gesceapen Boe. 130. On ođer wise ure drihten us mehte alesan OEH I 129. Summe men luneden heore sunne. and nalden heom forleten 151. sunne is ûpp âgân AG 197. — and micel fyr biđ onæled ofer eow Wu. 212.

16. 1. ic đe ne mæg nu get geandwýrdan Boe. 10. Ongan hine þa hyspan 66. ealle đrŷ hî magon êac him tô genyman naman speljende AG 127. and þa ungesæligan yrmingas nellađ nu þæt geþencan Wu. 185. and se lichama wæs þa gyt sprecende 235. Ich habbe isehen him ofte 259. — and ic hit eow wile sugge bi godes leue OEH I 147. þu ham hauest binume me 213. and we eac forđam habbađ fela bersta and bismra gebiden Wu. 128.

17. 1. Ac ic hie sceal ærest geþinnian Boe. 14. nu þu ne þearft þe nauht ondrædan ibid. a he mæg him wenan hetelices leanes Wu. 191. he scal hine ibiđan on a-sette tidan OEH I 115. He scal sođfeste men setten him to irefen ibid. We willađ nu secgan sume bysne to þisum Wu. 152. and þanan hit becom to Rome and in đa burh and þær wæs funden on Scs Petrus weofod 226. and man hæfde geworht þa on đam dagum on Rome anlicnessa 98. — vre lauerd haueđ ileanett him froure of his dehtren OEH I 247. ælc cristen man hit sceall cunnan mid rihte Wu. 301;

and hy ða syððan geornlice agunnan rædes gyman 14. *18. 1.* he onginð deoflice to wedanne dæges and nihtes Wu. 200. — and ðærto geryined hæfð us eallum rihtne weg 18. ac swa hi swiþor — — — swa hi swiþor bioþ gedrefde and geswencte. ægðer ge on Mode ge on lichoman Boe. 222. and þe bliðra mæg mid sibbe and mid some syððan hamwerd eft gewendan Wu. 281, and þa (= those), þe — — — þa he wyle mid egeslican ôgan mid ealle oferswiðan 197.

14. 2. for þý is betere þæt feoh þæt te næfre losian ne mæg Boe. 34. þæt (= in order that) se hwæte mæge ðý bet weaxan 78. þet oðer is þe fule on-kume þa þe douel haueð þeron ibroht OEH 147. þa gereaw him eft, þæt his handgeweorc swylc sâr þrowjan sceolde Wu. 213. for no man ne mai his sinnes bete OEH II 59, ac þý furþor þæt heora furþum nan buton oþrum beon ne mæg Boe. 74. þet clenesse: þet he haueð et his fulluhte ifet OEH I 147. — ne gelýfe ic no þæt hit geweorþan mihte swa endebýrdlice Boe. 12. forþam ðe hi wenaþ þæt hie þurh þa þing scýlon begitan þæt, etc. 86. hu hit is icweðen on boken OEH I 117. Hwæt ælc þing ðe tosceaden biþ from oþrum Boe 138. *15. 2.* þa þa hine Cirus Pærsa cýning gefangen hæfde and hine forbærnan wolde Boe. 22. þanne þearfan cleopedan to. iowrum husum, and ge hi ne noldan gehyran Wu. 222. and seið þat nawiht heardes ne mei hire offearen OEH I 257. Gif ðu nu witan wilt Boe. 16. and gif ge nellað swa don Wu. 229. and hu he wiþ us gedon wolde 221. and þæt, þe bið of hire acenned 193. — forþam ic nu hæbbe ongiten Boe 26. êalâ gif ic bêo gelufod gyt AG 142.

16. 2. ða he hi þa swiðost forslagen hæfde Boe 54. alle þe him hadden ar wel hersumed OEH II 23. þe

fower wateres þe we shulen us one wasshen 151. and ge þencað, þæt ge synd þæs oft gemyngað Wu. 231. Ge furþum seo stow þe þu nu on hæft eart. Boe. 32. and (þæt = so that) wild deor þær woldon to irnan 168. — Vnderstondeð get an þing þat ich giu wile warnie fore OEH II 57. wên ys, þæt Michael se heahencgel cume mid engla þreatum and wyle þe geniman of ûs Wu. 140. forþon þe he wolde þa get his mildheortnesse an mannum gecyþan 220. and þa hy drehten anget, þæt men þa get noldan geswican untidweorca Wu. 221. þa andged he ure drihten, þæt men noldan þa get healdan sunnandeges bebod (chiastic order with the preceding example) ibid. and siðen hie hadden bireued him þus OEH II 33.

17. 2. Siððan þu hi þonne gecnawan miht Boe. 80. þæt (= so that) ic his wæs swiþe wafiende 76. ne (þanne ge to be understood) me nane mildheortnesse noldan an heom gecyþan Wu. 222. 'soþ is, þæt ic iow secge, þæt ic iow wæs arful geworden ibid. Wenst þu þæt seo mengio þinra monna þe mæge don gesæligne Boe. 42. þa þincg, þe heom for folces neode geboden wæs Wu. 174. þæt (= so that) ic hit hæfde mid ealle forgiten Boe. 172. gif hi me willað hiran mid rihte Wu. 134. fer þan þe he wolde of þise cynne him moder ȝeceosen OEH I 227. and (on þisse timan þe to be understood) wule us bringan to eche liue 127. Ða se Wisdom þa and seo Gesceadwisnes þis leoð þus asungen hæfdon Boe. 36. Ða se Wisdom ða þis leoþ asungen hæfde 76. his agen handgewrit — — —, þæt he get wolde his mildheortnesse on us gecyðan Wu. 212. se ðe nele her his synna nu andettan his scrifte 238. þære mærðe, þe þurh his fultum þær geforðad wearð 278. Gif hwa nu biþ mid hwelcum

welum geweorþod Boe. 46. wa ðam, þe þær sceal wunjan on wîte Wu. 114. þær, þær hi wæron on anum huse inne belocene 294. — þat (= so that) — — — al þat pinende pik. ne walde ham þunche bote a softe bekinde bað OEH I. 269 Ac we sede ȝehw. þat — — — me sceolde ȝief him his mórȝe mete 237. swa swa heom geboden wæs fram heora lareowe Wu. 174. þa nyste na Jônaþas þæs cincges sunu, þæt hit swa geboden wæs eallan þam folce ibid. þæt (= so that) ge wel gehealdan woldan þone halgan sunnandeg 221. manega synd gyt coniunctiones, þe wê ne magon nû secgan on ðissere sceortnysse AG 266.

18. 2. Gif þu þonne heora þeawas witan wilt Boe. 16. forþæm hit oft gebýraþ þæt seo lease wýrd nauþer ne mæg þam men don ne fultum. ne eac nænne dem 70. Ðe þe wille fullice anweald agan 106. forþon þe hie hæfdan hie sylfe swiþe stranglice wiþ god forgelte Wu. 225. nu ðu gehýred hæfst þæt hine man nawþer buton ege habban ne mæg Boe. 106. he sæde, þæt god sy for sunnandæges weorcum and sæternesdæges ofer nôn ealra swiðost abolgen Wu. 211. Gyt syndon sume naman, þe wêron unrihtlîce getealde betwux naman speljendum AG 116. þing þat ich ne mahte nawt bringe to eni ende OEH I 251. gyf ðu þonne þæt ne dest, ac forsuwast hit and nelt folce his þearfe gecyðan Wu. 6. forþam hi ne magon soþ god and full god forgifan heora folgerum Boe. 126. Ic wene þæt we scýlon biddan ðone fæder eallra þinga ('ask the Father for everything'; Fox translates: 'pray to the Father of all things') ibid. Hu Boetius on ðam carcerne his sar seofiende wæs X. þat alse — — — Alse man doð nu his wel dede. and on þat oðer woreld shal understonden eche lif OEH II 157. se ðe mannum behaten wæs on þyssere worulde

ende Wu. 196. hwilc man is þonne efre, butan his heorte se eal mid deofles strealum awrecan 225. se þe wylle godes lage giman mid rihte 271. þæt (so that) ðu mage underfon ðet halige husel on þunnresdæg ær estron 290. þa þanne noldan — — — and noldan to gode gecyrran þurh soþe anddetnesse and þurh soþe bote 226. for wel ic wat. — — — þet flehsliche loue. and gostliche eorþliche lou and heouenliche. ne maȝen onone wise beddin in a breoste OEH I 185. — swelce þu eallunga hæbbe forloren þina gesælþa Boe. 28. forþam þe heo þurh nan ðing ne mæg þam men losian 34. Sege me nu hwæþer þu mid rihte mæge seofian þina unsælþa 28. forðon þæt godes folc sceal becuman to lifes wege þurh þa godspellican lâre Wu 213.

14. 3. ðær is êce bryne grimme gemencged Wu. 26. þonne bið gebann mycel þyder aboden 137. þonne nele se wrecenda lig and se deoflica bryne ænine forbugan 138. Ða ongunnon lease men wýrcan spell Boe. 194. þa þe he hefde uppen his hefde þornene helm. and weren his side mid speres orde iopened OEH I 147. and fullice LXX wintra syððan on ân wæs se ðeodscype eall geðeowod under heora feonda gewealde Wu. 14. — and forðam sceal geweorðan, he cwæð, to soðe ic eow secge, eower eard weste 45. æghwylcum men. is to onscunjanne ælc oferfyll on ælcum timan 242. Sunnen dei was iseȝan þet formeste liht buuen eorðe OEH I 139.

15. 3. ðonne onginþ him leogan se tohopa þærespræce Boe. 186. þa nolde se cýning þæs onfon 104. — auh wið-uten þine ȝeoue ne mai þe non luuien. OEH I 215. Ne mei na. Mon. me folȝen 147. Ne

mihte þer nan wiðstondan 131. þat (= so that) onont him ne schal nan un-þeaw cumen iN 249.

16. 3. ðonne meahte hi mon his beniman Boe. 188. Ða ongan se Catulus him spigettan on 96.

17. 3. Ond þeah betwuh ðýllecum unrihtum næs him no þý læs underðeod eall þes middan geard etc. Boe. 58. þa wearð þa redlice micel mennisc ȝewexon OEH I 225. and eft ymbe lytel ongan mancyn eft abeligan god for sunnandæges weorcum Wu. 213. þo mai ihesu þis baldeliche segge to þe OEH I 189. Warþ þa þat wif for-spannen þurh þe deofles lare 223. ða wæs þæt gewrit þus awriten mid gyldenum stafum Wu. 212. — alswa baldeliche mei þe wrechesta mon clepian drihtan him to federe OEH I 125.

18. 3. ne magan þonne halige men on þam timan ænige tacna openlice wyrcan Wu. 84. hu micle mare is þonne þæs monnes lichoma to metenne wiđ þæt Mod Boe. 42. ne sceal ænig man æfre for sacerdes synnan hine sylfne forgyman Wu. 178. ne mæg hus naht lange standan on ðam hean munte Boe. 36. nu ma we ealle niman swiþe soþe bysne be þysan ylcan and be manegan oþrum þingum Wu. 174. þenne sculen engles mid beme blauwen on fower halue þe world OEH I 143. — and gedwolgoda þenan ne dear man misbeodan on ænige wisan mid hæþenum leodum Wu. 157.

The following remarks are arranged in the same way as those in pp. 188, 189.

1. Instances with a stress-verb differ from those with an auxiliary, in as much as the governing verb has often

modifiers of its own. In all those cases where the finite verb ought to be followed, or the infinite, preceded, by its modifier, and the infinite verb has a postverbal position, one or more modifiers will be found between the verbs. In addition, instances where the same modifier belongs to both verbs must be of this type (fm(m)i(m)). Hence it is very frequent: out of about 500 clauses (not counting cl. with an introductory infinite verb) with direct order, or without a subject, about 300 are constructed in this way. There is scarcely any difference in this proportion between princ. and sub. clauses, between the Anglo-Saxon and the Semi-Saxon texts. The same proportion is to be found in clauses with inversion: a modifier between the subj. and the inf. verb occurs in 36 out of 60 examples. After this type, others with the infinite verb following the finite (mfi, fim, mfim, etc.) come next as to frequency. The position of the modifier with relation to its verb is, on the whole, the same as in the case of the verbs taken separately (Chapter IV, ser. 1., this chapter, sec. II). We seldom find the modifier separated from its verb by the other verb (e. g. mfi, where m belongs to i, fim, where m belongs to f).

> he willnaþ god to habbene Boe. 184. þe iblescede godd iseh ow offruhte — — — ant sende me to gleadien ow OEH I 259. for þý ic wilnode andweorces þone anweald mid to gereccenne Boe. 60. gehwilcne man. þara þe wilnaþ. helle þiostra to flionne 170. swa swa se apostol Paulus awræt be him þus cweðende Wu. 201. Ic wat þæt þu geherdest oft reccan on ealdum leasum spellum Boe. 162. and þeah willniað ealle þurh mistlice paþas cuman to anum ende 80. Mon. lenseð his fleis; hwenne he him ȝefeð lutel to etene OEH I 147. and leue us hem to bruken II 97. — Ongan þa giddien.

and þus singende cwæþ Boe. 6. þa þe ne lætaþ geortruwian be þis andweardan life (Fox: 'They suffer thee not') 30. and ic cume to demenne cwicum and deadum an þone halgan sunnandæg Wu. 222. þæt hi swiðost wilniaþ to begitanne (þæt belongs to beg.) Boe. 86. gif he ða læt toslupan 74. þæt þæt he ðonne swiþost wilnaþ to begitanne 86. ongite þæt ða uncweþendan gesceafta wilnodon to bionne on ecnesse 150. ðonne hi dweligende secaþ þæt hehste god on ða samran gesceafta 120. Ealle þas þing and monije oðre deð þe halija gast: to delende uwilchen (= to each) OEH I 97. Ðo beden þe holi apostles seien hem II 155.

2. Interrogative clauses and clauses of command and wishing have different constructions according to the different texts. In Boe. there is hesitation between the types, without any marked rule; the same may be said about the few instances in Ma.; PD with its examples with finite stress-verbs (there are scarcely any other examples belonging to these clauses) seems to follow this rule: the short modifier precedes the infinite verb (and follows the finite, because of its being connected with both), the long one follows it. In OEH there are some instances with preverbal long modifier after an inverted subj., or after a finite stress-verb, otherwise the postverbal position, even of a short modifier, seems to prevail. The other texts have too few instances to admit of any conclusions (This remark applies also to section II).

3. When a clause, or a rel. or interr. pron. is the subj., the modifier, as a rule, precedes the finite verb; the infinite verb may also precede it (see p. 189, 3), seldom do both come together before this verb. When standing together between the finite verb and the subj., the short modifier precedes, the long one follows, the infi-

nite verb; in Boe. the long modifier is also preverbal in this case. — In instances where the infinite verb is the subj. (OEH), this verb, as a rule, precedes its own modifiers, being preceded in its turn by the modifiers of the finite verb.

4. Instances where there is one deputy subj. and one logical subj. are too few to be taken into consideration here.

5. As for examples with more than one infinite verb, we had better arrange them here in the same way as in Chapter VI.

When one of the infinite verbs is the subj., each verb is followed by its long modifiers, preceded by its short ones. (Exceptions to this rule Ma. 118, OEH II 31).

When one of the infinite verbs is a subjectival, or objectival modifier, the same rule applies[1]); the clauses are mostly princ. There are exceptions to the rule, as there are exceptions among instances with one infinite verb (preverbal position of a long modifier in princ. clauses, Boe. VIII, 4, Wu. 295, OEH I 275, in sub. ones, OEH II 99, 183, 203; circumverbal position of two long modifiers in one interr. clause, with an inverted short subj., Ma. 58, in one sub., Boe. 132; postverbal position of a personal pron. preceded by a preposition in one princ. clause, Ma. 108, and one sub., OEH II 53; the finite stress-verb is followed by a pers. pron. without a prep. in PD 126, 128; preverbal type with a long modifier and the infinite verbs preceding the long subj. in OEH II 171).

Among instances where the syntactical relation between the infinite verbs is closer than in the above cases, those with an infinite stress-verb governing another infinite verb

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[1]) A participle, when such a modifier, separates the other infinite verb from its modifiers in Boe. VIII, 4, 164; PD 134.

show some fluctuation. In the purely Anglo-Saxon texts the preverbal position seems to prevail with all modifiers; in OEH the postverbal type prevails even when the modifier is a short one[1]). This rule is somewhat infringed, in so much as two long modifiers, belonging each to one of the infinite verbs, are placed between them. Besides there are other exceptions (OETs 177, Boe. 210[2]), Ma. 222, Wu. 294). The position between the two infinite verbs may depend on the modifier being syntactically connected with both (verbum ys word, ân dæl lêdenspræce mid tîde and hâde bûtan case getâcnjende oððe sum ðing tô dônne oððe sum ðing tô þrôwigenne oððe nâðor AG 119; Ðar haueð elch patriarche. and prophete and apostles. and martirs and confessors. and uirgines maked faier bode inne to wunien OEH II 185; cf. also 89). — In OEH I 265 we meet with an example where, in the construction called accusative with infinitive, the modifiers of the first infinite verb are placed after the second: *for euch an is al mihti to don al þat he wule. ȝe makie to cwakien heouene ba ant eorðe wið his an finger.*

When the governing infinite verb is an auxiliary, there is also fluctuation. a) The modifiers may follow the last infinite verb (cf. p. 161). This occurs especially in princ. clauses, at least in the purely Anglo-Saxon texts, and only when the modifiers are long; in OEH, in a couple of instances, also when they are personal pronouns with prep. (in OEH I 213 a personal pron. without a prep. follows the last infinite verb, while a long modifier precedes it, cf. b); in 277 both modifiers come at the end). b) The infinite verbs take the modifier between them; when there are two,

[1]) The short modifier precedes even the finite verb in OEH II 75.

[2]) In Boe. 62 there is an example with two long modifiers preceding the inverted subject and this followed by the infinite verbs.

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they are both of them placed before the last infinite verb (in Wu. 229, OEH I 37, 213, however, one before, one after, it; in OEH II, 97 one before, two after it). The modifiers are, as a rule, also long in this case (short in AG, 107, OEH I 23, 111, 213; in the last instance the short modifier comes at the end of the clause); the clauses are princ. or sub. c) The modifiers range themselves before the governing (and first) infinite verb, when long as well as when short, in princ. as well as in sub. clauses. (Note especially OEH I 91, 207, II 71, 125, 147; in Boe. 216, AG 279, one modifier precedes the first and one the second infinite verb; but in AG the same page has another instance where both precede the first infinite verb). These instances have, as a rule, only one modifier. d) The modifiers precede the finite verb, and this precedes the infinite. Here there seems to be no influence from the modifier, or the clause (The few instances are: Boe. 206, Ma. 130, Wu. 196; OEH I 11, 269, II, 171; in Wu. 141, 248 one modifier precedes the finite verb, one the first infinite). e) The modifiers are placed before the first infinite verb and after the second. (The instances are: Boe. 78, 116, AG 250, Wu. 194, 276, 295; OEH I 137, 263, 269, 277; II 59, 61). — Of these cases the first, undoubtedly, has more examples than any of the others.

In the above cases, the governing infinite verb precedes the modifying. In the four instances (see p. 192) where it is vice versa, the modifiers are placed between the finite verb and the first infinite, or after the first infinite verb and before the finite; in one of the instances Wu. 103, the subject and all the verbs are separated by modifiers.

II.

To the tables and schemes given in the preceding chapter, I have only to add instances without a finite verb, and instances with an inverted short subj.

These instances I need not set down in any tables. The rule may be formulated very simply thus: *The preverbal type prevails in almost all groups; in the groups containing Obj. or pN the postverbal type is, however, somewhat stronger than in the others. In OEH the tendency to postverbal type is strongly marked, for here the groups containing Obj. and pN* (except long or short Adv.-pN) *have this type in much the same degree as the preverbal* (Obj., pN, long or short Adv.-Obj.), *or superior to it* (Obj.-pN, P-Obj., P-pN). *The circumverbal type is relativcly strong in long Adv-Obj., long Adv-pN, Obj.-pN, pN-pN, P-Obj., P-pN* (the last two groups, however, not so in OEH).

This rule must be somewhat modified for instances with an inverted short subj., which are rather few. Here the postverbal type is superior to the other in Obj. and pN.

We need scarcely enter into any further details. The Anglo-Saxon texts affording us, in several groups, no instances of postverbal type and most of the Semi-Saxon groups containing few or no instances, we can draw no more conclusions as to the influence of the modifier itself on its position than the above. The same may be said about the influence of the infinite verb, on account of the participles occurring in so few instances [1]). But the different tendencies in the different texts may be studied in the most representative groups with a strong circumverbal or postverbal type.

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[1]) except pN, where Wu. has a superior preverbal type with both verbs, stronger, however, with the infinitive than with the past part., and where 6 shows a prevailing preverbal type with the infinitive, a prevailing postverbal with the past part.

The texts which are distinguished by the strongest postverbal type are Ma. (in Obj. instances without finite verb, a prevailing postverbal type obtains, on the whole; but not in other inst., for here the preverbal type is superior), AG (prevailing postverbal type in Obj. in instances with a present part. and without finite verb, and instances with an infinitive and an inverted short subj.; but in pN the preverbal type predominates in this text), PD (prevailing postverbal type in Obj. instances with an infinitive and an inverted short subj., but not in pN, for here the preverbal type is superior); besides, of course, the texts 1—8, between which, however, no gradation can be made.

The circumverbal type is frequent in Wu. long Adv.-Obj., OEH long Adv.-Obj., Obj.-pN.

Instances without finite verb:

onginð þonne rýn and hire racentan brecan Boe. 88. butan se lýtla hlisa and se nama mid feaum stafum awriten 70. þæt mon þæs wenan sceole be Gode. oððe eft wenan þæt, etc. 136. þæt ænig god sie buton on him. oððe ænig from him adæled 138. and eall mancyn sceall þænne of deaðe arisan and þurh þæt fŷr to ðam dome faran Wu. 25. þe læs þe hy unwære wurðan aredode and ðonne to hrædlice ðurh deofol beswicene 79. and þarfore men sullen aure þider gon. and hem þar bidden OEH II 23. and lernie hwu hie sullen here lif laden on godes hersumpnesse. and hem swo gaderen on rihte bileue. ibid. þæt hi moton to þe astigan þurh ðas earfoþu þisse worulde. and of þissum bisegum to þe cuman Boe. 132. — hu lýtel he biđ. and hu læne. and hu tedre. and hu bedæled ælces godes 60. Seo ys weaxende þurh acennedum cildum

and waniende þurh forð-farenum Man 4. þæt he scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum Wu. 9. and rađe æfter þam syđđan astyred wyrđ þurh godcunde mihte eal heofonlic mægen and eorđwaru aræred of deađe to dome 93. And ich leue þat mankin shal a domesdai risen of deađe. and elch man heren his dom bi eftemeste erdede OEH II 23.

Instances with inversion and a short subj.

ne meht þu fulleaþe cweđan Boe. 24. Miht þu nu ongitan 34. ne magon hi þonne heora leoht sellan 14. þonne onginne ic þe sona beran 6. ne eart þu þeah ealles of þam earde adrifen 8. ne cunne we him syđđan na furđor tæcan Wu. 275. hefdich (= If I had) ȝare so idon OEH I 213. ant for þi ne mahte ich nawt aȝein þe leome of his wlite lokin ne bihalden 259. — Hu miht þu þonne mænan þæt wýrse and þæt laþre Boe. 28. Hu wilt þu nu andwýrdan þæm woruld sælþum 22. þonne onginđ he hy to pinjanne on mistlicre wîsan Wu. 195. Ne mihte he mid none worden kiđen betere OEH II 137. Hwæt wille we cweþan be þinum twam sunum Boe. 28. þis haue i writen þe OEH I 287. wule we fare togenes him II 3. đonne mihtest þu gesion þa wolcnu under þe Boe. 174. Swo mote we flite togenes ure fule lustes. al þe fuwerti dages OEH II 81.

CHAPTER VIII.

Relative position of the modifiers.

In tables 19—24 I give, on the one hand, the relative position of introductory modifiers, on the other, that of other modifiers, when belonging to the same verb. Only when the former may be conceived as half-preverbal, i. e. in clauses where a subj. is not to be understood from a preceding co-ordinate clause, or where it is an infinite verb, or a clause, do I compare them with the following modifiers. I make no distinction between different kinds of verbs (stress-verbs, auxiliaries; finite verbs, infinite verbs), or subjects (long subj. and short ones) coming next to the modifiers, nor between different kinds of clauses (except clauses of command and of wishing); in the preverbal type are included mmfi[1]), mmif etc.; in the circumverbal, mfmi, fmim, mimf, imfm, etc.; in the postverbal fimm, ifmm, etc.; besides some mentioned below. In clauses with inversion I start from the subject only when coming next to the modifiers in question; e. g. mmsi is presubjectival but mmis, preverbal; msmi, imsm, circumsubjectival, but smim, mims, circumverbal; ismm, postsubjectival, but simm, postverbal. To these 6 types (designated by the figures 2—7; 2 = the prev., 3 = the circumv., 4 = the postv., 5 = the pres., 6 = the circums., 7 = the posts.) I must add the post-preverbal (= 8) fmmi, or immf; the pre-postverbal (= 9) = mfim, or mifm[2]); the introductory (= 1) mmsf, or mmfs, etc., with or without an infinite verb; the non-verbal (= 10)

[1]) For these abbreviations, see p. 177.

[2]) Types such as smmi, imms, msim, mism can be left out of consideration on account of the scarcity of their examples.

with only modifiers (with or without a subject); in tables 22—24 A = the two modifiers are long; B = the two modifiers are short; C = one of the two modifiers is short, the other, long. A modifier determined by a clause does not count; consequently the modifiers standing before and after it are confronted with each other; the same may be said about an infinite verb depending on a modifier (in such a case, e. g. fmim is not circumverbal, but postverbal, mifm, not pre-postverbal, but circumverbal, etc.). The gradation between the modifiers is in accordance with what is stated p. 52; besides this we note: Do—Ao, or Go; Ao—Go; Obj.—Pr., subjectival, or objectival, modifier; subjectival modifier—Pr.; Adv. of indef. t.—Mod. adv.—Conj. adv.—Local adv. (all of them long); Conj. short adv.—other short adv. The upper place is reserved for the regular position (= that in accordance with the above gradation), the lower for the irregular. The minimi total is 4. The texts are arranged as in table 3.

Tables 19, 20, and 21 indicate the following facts:

1) The gradation, as to stress, between the different kinds of modifiers, stated in preceding tables, also holds good here.

2) As might be expected, the fluctuation is greatest in groups containing modifiers of much the same stress (cf. especially long Adv.-Obj., Obj.-pN, the groups containing pP and pD, and, in a less degree, short Adv.-short Adv., short Adv.-Obj.). Most exceptions are to be found in the relative position of two long modifiers.

3) The preverbal position affords more irregular cases than the others; next to this position, in the respect mentioned, comes the postverbal in the groups containing a long adv. (except Wu., where the circumverbal position comes second); in Obj.-Obj. the postverbal position has more exceptions than the circumverbal (except Wu.), and this more

than the preverbal; in Obj.-pN the preverbal type has more exceptions than the others, next comes the circumverbal, occasionally equal to it (in OEH), or to the postverbal (in Boe. and Wu.). In the relative position of one short and one long modifier, the preverbal type also distinguishes itself by more exceptional cases than do the other types; these are, as a rule, on the same level, showing zero-cases for the most part. This rule is scarcely infringed in the groups with pP and pD, where we expect to find a prevailing postverbal type with strong fluctuation in the relative arrangement of the modifiers. Two short modifiers show these three types on much the same level, there being but few exceptional cases.

Of the other types, the post-preverbal and the postsubjectival are distinguished by relatively numerous exceptions, without, however, being equal to the preverbal in this respect. We occasionally find strong fluctuation in fragmentary clauses, owing, no doubt, to their lacking a a verb with which to create a full sentence-rhythm.

4) The text which contains most of the exceptional cases is Wu.; this may be a consequence of rhetorical style (cf. p. 4), for with such a style the words do not come so spontaneously to the speaker's mind as is the case in more unaffected language. Next to Wu. comes OEH, and, in some cases, AG; here the exceptions must depend on a weakening of the rhythmical feeling. They are in harmony with other characteristic facts in the word-order of these texts, being a consequence of the syntactical analogy partly breaking up the rhythmical law.

5) Exceptional cases occasionally rise to an equality or superiority to the regular ones. The most prominent of the former are: long Adv.-Obj. 2[1]) Wu.; 1 7; 3, 4 Wu.;

[1]) The figures next to the names of the groups indicate the series.

long Adv.-pN 2, 8 Wu.; Obj.-Obj. 4 7, Obj.-pN. 2 Wu.; t 7; 3 OEH in general; 4 AG; P pN 2 7; short Adv.-long Adv. 2 Wu.; short Adv.-Obj. 2 Wu, 10 Wu.; short Adv.-pN 2 Wu.; 10 Boe., 7; D-long Adv. 2 Wu.; besides pP-Obj. 2 and 4 in general, pP-pN 2 Wu.

Tables 22, 23, and 24 agree, on the whole, with the above results. Consequently we find the relatively greatest number of exceptions in the cases of two long modifiers. In striking contrast with this rule are the following cases: table 23 4 Ma., PD; table 24 2, 4 Man., AG, PD, AT; 4 Wu.; 10 Boe. The preverbal type has the strongest fluctuation, the postverbal, a somewhat less, the circumverbal, the least (however, the two latter are almost equal in t. 22 C Boe.; the circumverbal type shows more fluctuation than the postverbal in t. 22 in OEH in general. Other types with numerous exceptions are the post-preverbal, the postsubrectival, and the introductory; besides the fragmentary clauses. — Here, too, Wu. has relatively more exceptional cases than any other text; however, Boe. has more in t. 22 A, C 7; besides these in 10; Man. more in t. 24 C 4; PD more in t. 22, 24 C 3.

The exceptions are occasionally almost equal or superior in number to the regular cases; e. g. table 22 A 1 PD, Wu.; B 1 Wu.; C 1 Ma., Wu., 1; A 2 Wu., AT, OEH in general; C 2 Man., 7; A 3 Ma., 2, 6, 7; C 3 Ma., 6, 7; C4 Ma., Man., PD, AT; A 8 Wu.; B 8 7; C 8 2.

Table 23: A 1 Wu.

Table 24: A 10 Wu. There are thrice as many exceptions as regular cases in this table A 2 Wu.

In some few cases the position may depend on two modifiers being slightly connected with each other, without, however, melting into a member-group. Most of these cases contain an adv. of the kind discussed p. 153 et seq., followed

by a prepositional phrase which gives it a fuller meaning (e. g. *in beforan, up to*). When two such expressions are preceded, or followed, by a third modifier, an irregularity will often occur. The same may be said about the dative of a pers. pronoun immediately followed by the prep. *to* with a noun indicating the aim, or the result of an action ('dativus finalis', predicative complement).

> and đonne he hóf (his) hond upp to hiofonum OETs 178. þonne hi nyđer of heofonum swyđost dreosađ Wu. 149. and se cyning dyde đet land et mersaham him to folclande OETs 438.

But otherwise there is also a certain tendency to arrange three modifiers, or more, almost symetrically, by putting the weakest, or the strongest of them between the others:

> đæm godcundan geferscipe — — — đe in Cristes circan dæghwæmlice Godes lof rærađ 175. ic wille — and min bearn đęr liffest gedoan 449. and ân urum hlaforde holdlice and rihtlice hŷran Wu. 266. þonne we hreowe dôn ure synna and hî mid ælmessum georne alyson her on life 149.

Other exceptional arrangements are the regular sequence of one stronger and one weaker modifier, or the observance of the gradation of stress between the words, but in an opposite direction, i. e. beginning with the strongest modifier and ending with the weakest:

> â is swa betere, swa cristenra manna mâ geornor to Criste sece his þearfe æt æghwilcere neode 180. swa þonne nu geganged manna bearnum, þæt, etc. 211. se đe nele her his synna nu andettan his scrifte 238. and Petre þæne ealdorscipe he ærest betæhte and hefenware cæga eac him befæste 176.

But the other arrangement of the modifiers (i. e. be-

ginning with the weakest and ending with the strongest) is, no doubt, the more general:

> we þa syðþan of ðæs ylcan mannes flæsce on þas wræclican woruld acende wurdon 1. and her syððan on earfoðan and on geswince wunedon 9. and þæt he eac wiðsace anrædlice deofles gemanan 32. ic lære eac georne manna gehwylcne 73. and godes hus symle weorðje and werje and sece gelome him sylfum to þæarfe ibid. þæt (= so that) we symle ne wepon and forhtjan þa toweardan wita and ûs þa æfre ondrædon 149.

I have quoted so many instances from Wu. purposely, because this affords us the most numerous clauses with more than two modifiers and, besides, the most numerous cases of an exceptional arrangement of them. There is no difficulty in adducing still more instances of the regular arrangement (e. g. pp. 135, 162, 180, 205, 210, 212, 238, 267).

The above cases of an irregular arrangement of more than two modifiers may, in great measure, account for there sometimes being relatively more exceptions in tables 22, 23, and 24 than in tables 19—21. But, on the whole, we can scarcely say that the exceptions increase in proportion to the numbers of modifiers in the same clause.

Those clauses of command and of wishing which are not included in the tables, agree on the whole with these in the relative position of the modifiers, there being scarcely 20 exceptions (out of a fair number of instances) to the rule given for this position p. 212.

Examples with a rel. or interr. pron., an infinite verb, or a whole clause as subject, have about twice as many

exceptions to this rule (out of a less number of cases than the above that may be classed here), which makes the position somewhat more doubtful. However, the exceptions do not amount to half of the entire number.

Clauses with more than two infinite verbs have not many exceptions either. I have counted about 15 among a considerable number of cases. Of these I give two examples where an adverb refers to a preceding member without, however, making this a prepositional phrase. It is a kind of apo koinou not unknown in Modern English; this construction has given rise to another, that of the subject being governed by a preposition which belongs to a passive verb ('he is not cared for'):

> þas kinges hus bitacneđ hali chirch[e þa] cladęs þet weren isende ut of þ[es kinges huse] for to binden þe rapes mid OEH I 51. Đar haueđ elch patriarche. and prophete and apostles. and martirs and confessors. and uirgines maked faier bode inne to wunien II 185.

In this chapter we meet with a fairly marked rhythmical word-order. The cause of this fact is, of course, there being not so many agencies influencing the arrangement as in the relative position of the finite verb and its modifiers. The change of the old preverbal order into the new postverbal one, has been carried out, in Modern English, almost without affecting this rhythmical arrangement (cf. p. 213). There are some important cases which are worth noticing here.

As regards the relative position of the adverb and the noun object, without a preposition, Modern English, in many cases, seems to follow the rule of not separating the latte-

from the verb by an adverb. This, then, has to take its place either before the verb, or after the accusative object. The former place is by preference given to adverbs of indefinite time, *now*, conjunctional and some modal adverbs, and divers noun-phrases of much the same meaning as such adverbs (p. 59). The position after the object suggests increase of stress, which is incompatible with the preverbal position. The cause of the postverbal position may also be more special reference to, or connection with, the verb (Sweet, N. E. G. II p. 21). But why it must not come between the verb and its accusative-object, we can scarcely understand unless we look for rhythm as the cause. It is especially modal adverbs (in- *ly*) that are allowed to take one of these positions. Longer prepositional phrases may precede the accusative object. On the other hand, certain short adverbs, e. g. *here* and *now, then*, ought to follow this modifier when emphatic, otherwise to precede the verb.

There is, however, a kind of adverb whose position in Anglo-Saxon I have examined separately (pp. 153—155) and found to be, on the whole, that of a noun. In Modern English these adverbs, which form compounds with the verb (of the type II 4, p. 48) and, consequently, are more intimately connected with it than are other modifiers, take their place after a personal pronoun-object, before or after a noun-object. Their position, then, is partly owing to their connection with the verb, for their stress is not inferior to that of *here* (though of a different kind). But rhythmical consideration plays a rôle, too, for otherwise we could not explain the order 'he took it out', when compared with 'he took out his watch'. I think rhythm is provided for in both clauses. Sweet's statement (p. 19) that the relative position of such adverbs and the accusative object depends on the more or less intimate connection with the verb, is

therefore, subject to modifications. In other cases, too, rhythm must be looked for as the real cause of the position (e. g. in case of the relative position of the accusative-object and a prepositional phrase, even though he be quite right in his explanation of the position of some adverbs, for here connection and stress sometimes go together). The reason he gives (p. 20) for the order in 'let him in' I do not approve of, for I cannot see why the adverb *in* when put before 'him' in this clause, must be mistaken for a preposition more than in 'let in the prisoner'.

In Modern English we meet with five sets of adverbial or prepositional modifiers as to their position (not counting the introductory): a) such as most often precede the verb [1]; these are expressions of indef. t., at least *always, ever, never, often, once, sometimes;* further *now* (cf. e); b) such as precede, or follow the verb, at all events preceding the accusative-object: conjunctional adverbs, and adverbial or some prepositional phrases which precede the fin. verb when the verb is followed by some modifier; c) such as follow the verb (finite, or infinite), but may precede, or follow the accusative-object: prepositional phrases in general when they modify the verb more specially, and have more stress than those in b); their position with regard to the accusative-object seems to depend on their length: the longer of the two modifiers, or member-groups, is put after the other; d) such as always follow the verb (finite or infinite) and a personal pronoun-object, but precede (or follow) a noun-object: particles used as one of the elements of a verbal compound; e) such as follow the accusative-object

[1]) viz. in clauses with direct order and when there are no other special reasons for a postverbal position, e. g. their having modifiers of their own. When the clause contains one infinite verb or more, these modifiers stand next before the first of them.

when not preceding the verb: certain short adverbs, e. g. *here, there, now* (cf. N. E. Gr. II 22), and modal adverbs (in *-ly*): for *not*, see p. 224.

The influences affecting the word-order are not the same in these five groups. I think it is stress in a), and e); connectiveness and consideration of the length of the clause in b) (cf. p. 59); consideration of the length of the modifier in c) (cf. p. 224); stress and more or less intimate connection with the verb in d). *But in all of them euphony, or rhythm, has something to do with the arrangement.* This theory is borne out by the cases of this sentiment still surviving in English which I have already mentioned (pp. 59, 71, 74, 76), and by the further evidence in favour of rhythmical considerations which I shall supply p. 245. Indeed, I think there is no contradicting the fact, only one may view the matter from a different point, and thus be prevented from perceiving the unity prevailing in the midst of all the variety; another may take it as a matter of course, without caring to find out what 'euphony' means in this, or that special language; for euphony is something conventional, and cannot be defined a priori.

That the connection of the verb with a modifier has not played a predominating rôle in Anglo-Saxon either, is sufficiently proved by the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon word-order in general, especially by the numerous instances of 'broken order' (p. 232). Besides, it is proved by table 19. For if this were so, we should not find so many exceptions in the preverbal type of Long Adv.-Obj. [1]). On a comparison

[1]) As a rule, the accusative-object is in closer connection with the verb than the adverb is; we must except adverbs belonging to d), but these are in the minority, and are to be found as well in the group Short adv.-Obj. Besides we have in Modern German just the evidence in favour of the separation of such intimately connected

between this type and the postverbal we shall observe a certain tendency to place the adverb next to the verb when there is an object. The most frequent position, then, is the postverbal with the modal adv. preceding the object in principal clauses without an infinite verb, or the preverbal with the modal adv. following it in subordinate and in clauses with an infinite verb; in both cases the adverb is less strong than in the position quoted below, and I think it is to the preverbal that we have to look for the source of the circumverbal construction in Modern English (cf. p. 222):

godjaƌ georne eowre agene wegas Wu. 49. and eac ic lære georne manna gehwylcne 69. Crist ælmihtig lærde georne soƌfæstnysse and anfealdnesse, and þæt gehwa synnluste fæste wiƌstode 55. þe him ær fyligde and his unlarum to swyƌe gelyfde 86. and (þe) godes lare geornlice hlystaƌ 87. mid þysan mægenan we us sculon werjan — — — and his unþeawan fæste wiƌstandan 69. þæt man ââ wile deofol ascunjan and his unlara georne forbugan — — — and æfre his larum geornlice fyligean and his agene beboda rihtlice healdan 144.

The position of a long modal adverb after the postverbal object is less frequent in our texts:

ac (þæt ic) sæde ƌe swiþe lang spell and wundorlic swiþe gesceadlice be ƌam Gode (note that the object and the adverb are both long) Boe. 166. Ac se godcunda foreþonc hit understent eall swiþe rýhte (*eall* is here an objectival modifier) 224. He demþ ƌeah eall swiþe rýhte (in both these instances the modal adverb is obviously more emphasized than the object) ibid. and healdan his bebodu georne Wu. 29, 102,

words, for in this language the separable particles occupy, by preference, the last place: 'Er stoss den Tisch um'.

152; similar inst. 37; se gehealt his cristenem rihtlice ibid.; utan understandon — — — þæt we we heonanforð fadjan symle ure wisan for gode and for worulde wislice and wærlice 167. gehyrað git, hirdas, godes word georne 190. and al þe hebreisce folc — — — sungun þisne lofsong hehliche to heringe OEH I 5. ne we ne moten. halden moyses e. licamliche 89. ac se earma synfulla man hearmað þeah him sylfum egeslice swyðe Wu 34; and (þe) fyligeað eowrum luste ealles to swyðe 47.

The same position that is regularly to be found in subordinate clauses, is also met with in clauses without a subj. and where the preverbal type may be owing to the modifiers being used as half-introductory:

and utan word and weorc rihtlice fadjan and ure ingeðanc clænsjan georne and að and wed wærlice healdan 144.

Wu. must be our principal guide as regards the Anglo-Saxon texts, the others having very few instances with a modal adverb and an object. In OEH these clauses in general have the postverbal type, with the adv. preceding the obj., or following it (as shown above).

þe prophetę seiđ. þet þe put ne tuneđ noht lihtlice his muđ ouer us OEH I 49. Halie boc nemneđ iwuneliche đreo þing to sede 131. and ȝiuen þu haues echeliche þin endelese blisse 279. and (þe) luueđ rihtliche alle liuiende men II 27. Vte we þenne þis hersumien — — — and leden clenliche ure lif 55.

Besides these positions, there are others, not so general. *The dying out in Modern English of the construction just quoted from OEH must be owing to some differentiation coming in and preserving only two positions, each with a special function, emphasis, or want of emphasis.* We easily

understand why it is just the modal adv. that has been treated in this way: the modal adv. is better suited than the others for taking modifiers and being emphasized, or more subject to change of sense.

Adverbs of indef. time and conjunctional adverbs precede, as a rule, the object, whether postverbal or preverbal:

Hwæt þu watst — — — þæt þu þonne lætst eal eower færeld to þæs windesdome Boe. 18. þæt (= inasmuch as) þu winsd wiþ þam hlafordscipe þe þu self gecure and swa þeah (obs.! to be considered one word) ne meaht hiora sidu and heora gecýnd onwendan 18. Eala hwæt sè forma gitsere wære. þe ærest þa eorþan ongan delfan æfter golde 48. heo forgit sona hire niwan taman — — — onginð þonne rýn — — —, and abit ærest hire ladteow 88. Ac genum ðu simle ðæs miclan and þæs fægran edleanes 88. he hæfþ ðeah simle his ýfel mid him 190. Ne deþ witodlice nán man niwes cladres scyp on eald reaf Ma. 76. god mann soþlice of godum gold-horde bringþ god forð 102. hi sculon þonne þæs êce lean habban Wu. 27. þonne mot he beon ærost ðinga gemynegad 32. other instances: 35, 38, 49, 51, 52, 55. þat he nolde nefre eft. al mancyn mid water acwellan OEH I 225. þat ic nelle henon forð mancyn. mid watere adrenche ibid. þat him of-þuhte þat he efre mancinn þesceop ibid. ac (þe) efer wurðade þane soðne god 227.

As emphasis in these adverbs is not so common, they have kept their place before the object in Modern English, even when postverbal.

The above discussion mainly applies to long adverbs. The position of the short adverb with relation to a noun-object is, on the whole, less doubtful: it takes its place before this object both in Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon.

The strong fluctuation in some cases depends on the adverbs which are, as it were, elements of compounds. These take a postverbal position in Modern English, and precede, or follow a noun-object, but follow a personal pronoun. Other short words may be classed under one of the categories of long adverbs, and are treated accordingly *(now, so, too)*, or are forms shortened from long Anglo-Saxon ones *(soon, then)*, or have disappeared *(eac, eft)*. *Here* and *there* are treated in the same way as long modal adverbs when emphatic. To be noted is also *yet (as yet)*, introductory when a conjunction, at the end of the clause when an adverb. Compounded adverbs and prepositional phrases have submitted to the analogy with these adverbs, and are to be construed in accordance with their meaning, euphony playing, however, still a rôle in the arrangement.

The adverb *nawiht, nauht, noht, not* (rarely found without the negation *ne* in our texts), is preverbal or postverbal in Anglo-Saxon, Semi-Saxon, and Middle English; preverbal with an infinite verb, postverbal with a finite, in Modern English; precedes a noun-object, but follows a personal pronoun during all these stages: 'I have not the book', 'I have it not'. But it seldom comes next to another modifier in Modern English, on account of the peculiar circumlocution with *do* used in the clauses with *not*.

There is another point in which Modern English is almost fixed, viz. in the relative position of the dative and the accusative-object. The dative without *to* precedes the accusative (except *it*), the dative with *to* follows, or precedes the accusative, depending on the nature of the verb and the objects. But the leading feature even in this arrangement is, for all that, the same rhythmical law which regulates the relative position of other verbal modifiers. Transitive verbs denoting the action of 'giving', 'lending',

'granting', 'showing', or their contrasts, and the verb *tell,* make an unemphatic dative without *to* precede the accusative, an emphatic follow it. Other verbs (especially those denoting a communication) demand the prep. *to* before the dative, but leave its position before or after the accusative to be determined by its relative length. It is to be noted that in the case of the former verbs, a personal pronoun with the prep. *to* ought to follow the accusative. We have seen that pP very much resembles the long modifiers as to stress; but emphasis must be the reason for placing it exclusively after a noun-obj. The difference, then, between the two constructions with *to,* is that the position is determined by emphasis after the verbs of 'giving', etc., by emphasis and the relative length of the objects after the others (cf. the adverb-groups, p. 219).

Our texts do not afford us many instances of a dative-object preceded by *to*; when there is an accusative-object at the same time, it is not before the OEH that they begin to crop up. On the whole, the accusative-object precedes the dative in the first group, though there is scarcely any difference as to stress, or length, between these modifiers. Instances with verbs of 'giving', etc. (occasionally to be understood) and noun-objects:

> and suelc mon se ðet lond hebbe eghwylce sunnandege X gesuflra hlafa to ðare cirican for ealdredes saule and for ealhburge OETs 446. elce gere c pen' to cristes cirican ðem higum ibid. (six other similar inst., one with several accusatives, ibid., p. 452); Hwæt þu watst — — — þæt þu þonne lætst eal eower færeld to þæs windesdome Boe. 18. and brohte þa þrittig scyllingas to þæra sacerda ealdrum Ma. 228. and betæhte þæt mare leoht, þæt is seo sunne, to ðam dæge, and þæt læsse leoht, þæt is se mona, to

þære nihte Man. 2. ne nan man ne mot — — — his ælmæssan behatan to wylle ne to wydetreowe ne to stane, etc. (emphatic dative) Wu. 303. ðet forme mihte is þet heo on eorðe ȝeueð reste to alle eorðe þrelles wepmen and wifmen of heore þrel weorkes OEH I 47, besides 143, 205. — ic osuulf aldormonn mid Godes gæfe ond beornðryð min gemecca sellað to cantuarabyrg to cristes cirican ðæt lond æt stanhamstede, XX swuluncga, gode allmehtgum and ðere halgon gesomnuncgæ fore hyhte, etc. (the accusative is long; it is to be noted that in some of the inst. in OETs there are two datives, one with, and one without *to*) OETs 443.

Instances with a verb denoting speech. When the dative is a personal pronoun, the position is somewhat doubtful:

Hu Boetius hine singende gebæd. and his earfoþu to Gode mænde Boe. X. He spræc to him oþer big-spel (the few inst. in Ma. show some fluctuation here, the dative being a pers. pron.) Ma. 112. þonne ic cweþe ego ic and ðû cwest tô mê tu ðû AG 93. leafdi þurh þin erndinge cuðe me mine bone to þine eadi sune OEH I 207. ȝeíet he cweð a wunder worder to þar sawle bi þa witíe ysaiam 235. and menest to him þine fele nede II 25. and to þe licame swilche wordes seið 183.

On the whole, then, the rule seems to be of much the same kind in Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon as in Modern English: almost fixed when the verb denotes a 'giving', etc., otherwise more doubtful. In the former group, however, the construction with *to* scarcely seems as yet to have acquired the function of emphasis; the dative follows the accusative according to the general rule for the relative

position of Ao and pN, the latter modifier being somewhat heavier than the former.

A third characteristic feature of Modern English belonging to this chapter, is the almost total loss of the cases of tmesis (Sweet: 'broken order') peculiar to Anglo-Saxon (cf., however, p. 48). Other than verbal modifiers have to stand close to their head-words, forming together with them a whole member-group.

CHAPTER IX.

Occasional influences.

In addition to the regular influences discussed in the divers chapters, there are some others which, occasionally, affect word-order.

One of them, not very significant, is that exercised on the position of a modifier by its referring to two verbs, generally a stress-verb and an infinite verb governed thereby. The result is the position of the modifier between the two verbs (cf. p. 203).

> ðanne ann ic ðęm ofer minne dęg alles mines ęrfes to brucenne OETs 452. Wast þu aht oþres bi þe selfum to secganne butan þæt, etc. Boe. 12.

Tmesis and chiastic order (Sweet: 'broken order' and 'cross-order') are two considerable phenomena in all our texts; the former is especially frequent. It belongs to

my investigation of word-order, in as much as it creates a new verbal member-group. Chiastic order is difficult of definition; only the most decided cases, i. e. clauses standing next to each other, can be classed here. The influence the preceding clause exercises on that following, must be inferior to the other great agencies, and work only within the limits defined by them.

A very frequent case is that where a member (even the subject, or the predicate) is made heavy by means of modifiers, or co-ordinated members. I am only taking into consideration the most marked examples [1]). As for a finite verb emphasized by co-ordination, there are not so many instances, and such verbs seem to be compatible with a medial position.. Otherwise the tendency is to move the member emphasized towards the end of the clause after the verb, or subject, and after other modifiers. Among the great number of examples, most of which are constructed according to the general rules, there are more than 120 where the member in question owes its position to this kind of emphasis only, not to the stress inherent in the word itself; they are at the same time postverbal, or postsubjectival. Of the exceptions, 5 have the modifier emphasized introductory; in 13 it is preverbal [2]), occasionally preceding other modifiers according to the gradation of stress between the words; in 7, preverbal and preceding other modifiers in spite of this gradation; in 19, postverbal and preceding the other modifier in the same way as in those 7 (except 1). In 24 the subject emphasized follows the verb (in 4 without introd. member, 1 clause of wishing); in 7 it precedes it; in 5 the

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[1]) i. e. those with members which are modified by, or co-ordinated with, more than one word.

[2]) 'preverbal' means in this paragraph 'preceding the last (infinite) verb' when there are more verbs than one.

infinite verb emphasized stands within the clause; in 2, at the end of it. These examples do not prove any absolute predominancy of this emphasis at the end of the clause. Indeed, we have to deal with lengthened groups more than with emphasized ones, and this may, in some measure, account for the above fact.

Instances belonging to the above cases are included in the statistics. But from the preceding chapters I have excluded examples where a determining clause may affect the position of the member just discussed. Here I give them special examination.

If we enter into the details of these examples, we perceive the same influences at work as we have already discussed; but here they are not so marked, on account of the scarcity of the instances. The same may be said about the influence of the clause determining the modifier. We had better, then, only give some collective totals.

Out of about 1000 Anglo-Saxon principal declarative and subordinate clauses with direct order, or without a subj., there are only 12 princ. cl. and 100 sub. where one of the first two modifiers, determined by a clause (or *þonne* = than) which follows the finite verb, precedes this latter to about 400 of each kind where it is attracted by this clause. The corresponding examples from OEH are 4, resp. 8 to 485, resp. 271. Selecting some groups, we find the following ratios between the preverbal and the postverbal type (the designations as in tables 5—12). a = modifier determined by a clause, b = modifier not determined by any clause. The figures after these letters indicate the sections and series in tables 5—12.

				Anglo-Saxon.						*Semi-Saxon.*				
				princ. cl.			*sub. cl.*			*princ. cl.*			*sub. cl.*	
a.	I	1	Obj.	0: 15,	pN	0: 10,	Obj.	3: 12,	pN 0: 9	Obj. 0: 12,	pN	0: 6	Obj. pN	
b.	„	„	„	16:160,	„	7:124,	„	82: 96,	„ 63:127	„ 2:108,	„	5:65	„ „	
a.	„	2	„	0: 15,			„	6: 31,					„ 0: 4, „	
b.	„	„	„	0:127,			„	61:167,					„ 7:73, „	
a.	II	1	„	1: 19,	„	0: 13,	„	3: 18,	„ 1: 9	„ 1: 7,	„	0: 6	„ 1:19, „	0: 5
b.	„	„	„	14:205,	„	2:123,	„	158:169,	„ 75:113	„ 3: 74,	„	0:66	„ 61:93, „	16:74
a.	„	2	„	0: 21,			„	9: 37,		„ 0: 15,	„	0: 5		
b.	„	„	„	2:168,			„	217:243,		„ 0: 74,	„	0:11		
a.	„	3	„	0: 4,	„	0: 10,	„	4: 18,	„ 0: 8	„ 0: 6,	„	0: 4	„ 0: 6,	
b.	„	„	„	4: 80,	„	0: 36,	„	61:109,	„ 43: 83	„ 0: 58,	„	0:46	„ 4:66,	
a.	III	1	„				„	3: 3,					„ 1: 6, „	0: 4
b.	„	„	„				„	143: 78,					„ 45:59, „	17:46
a.	„	2	„				„	2: 8,					„ 0: 7,	
b.	„	„	„				„	133:119,					„ 20:95,	
a.	IV	1	„	0: 7						„ 0: 11,	„	0: 5	„ 0:10,	
b.	„	„	„	30:111						„ 17: 77,	„	4:40	„ 50:38,	
a.	„	2	„	0: 10						„ 0: 5,				
b.	„	„	„	5: 68						„ 1: 24,				
a.	I	1	P				D	1: 7,						
b.	„	„	„				„	26: 1,						
a.	„	3	„				„	0: 6,						
b.	„	„	„				„	2: 2,						
a.	II	1	„	0: 5			„	4: 4,						
b.	„	„	„	6: 4			„	24: 2,						
a.	„	3	„				„	2: 5,						
b.	„	„	„				„	6: 0,						

Other groups and series are not worthy of any notice — as they contain so few examples. The above ratios show, when compared with each other, 1 exceptional case and about 20 zero-cases, some of them (e. g. II 2, 3 Obj. Anglo-Saxon) depending on the scarcity of examples in a. The influence of the determining clause on the relative position of the modifier and the finite verb is quite evident [1]).

As for the relative position of the modifier and the infinite verb, I find the following ratios for examples with direct order and the first, or second modifier, determined by a clause following the infinite verb [2]).

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[1]) In some few cases the modifier, when preverbal, is immediately followed by its clause.

[2]) In a few cases the infinite verb precedes the finite, and this in turn, the modifier.

Anglo-Saxon				*Semi-Saxon*			
princ. cl.		*sub. cl.*		*princ. cl.*		*sub. cl.*	
1 long mod.	2 long mod.	1 long mod.	1 short mod.	1 long mod.	1 long mod.	2 long mod.	
2 : 27 (Obj. 1 : 21)	1 : 8 (pN 0 : 5)	12 : 29 (Obj. 10 : 21)	12 : 12 (D, pD 11 : 11)	2 : 19 (Obj. 1 : 17)	3 : 25 (Obj. 3 : 16)	3 : 22 (Obj. 2 : 10)	
1 short 1 long mod.		2 long mod.	2 short mod.	2 long mod.		1 short 1 long mod.	
0 : 9		4 : 11	4 : 0	0 : 9 (pN 0 : 5)		1 : 9	
		1 short 1 long mod.		1 short 1 long mod.			
		7 : 16 (D, pD 2 : 4)		1 : 12 (Obj. 1 : 6)			

If we compare the above ratios with those of the collective tables 14—18, we shall find in all of the former, except 4 : 0, a marked development of the post-verbal type.

Among instances with inverted order and a long subj. there are only a few where one of the first two modifiers (no others), though determined by a postsubjectival clause, precedes the subj. These modifiers are either a demonstrative pronoun (2 cases), or a short adverb (1 case). — The relative position of the modifier and a short subj. is always a postsubjectival one, so here we can make no comparison.

Of the following ratios, indicating the relative position of the modifier in question and the infinite verb, the first belongs to clauses with a long subj., the second, to those with a short one, or without subj. and finite verb:

Cf. here tables 14, 15, 17, 18 series 3 and p. 208.

Other analogous clauses (interr. cl., cl. of command and of wishing, clauses with another subj. than a noun or pron. which is not rel. or interr,) give the same result as the above, or are too few to be discussed here.

The third, fourth, or fifth modifier is, as a rule, postverbal in clauses without infinite verbs and direct order, postsubjectival (see above) in such clauses with inversion. When there is an infinite verb, such a modifier follows this also. This rule applying as it does to instances, where the third, etc. modifier is not determined by any clause following the verb (or subj.), no influence from a modifying clause would be perceptible, unless the exceptions were in this case remarkably few. Among the numerous instances where the third, fourth, or fifth modifier has an exceptional position with relation to another modifier, on account of a determining clause, there are scarcely 10 where the modifier determined is preverbal. When the modifier, though thus attracted by a clause, has the same position among the others as would be assigned to it by its stress and length, it is still postverbal, or postsubjectival.

As we have seen in chapter II (p. 57), the introductory member may gain some stress by a clause determining it and following the other members (at least the subj. and pred.). Such instances amount to about 20. I have made it a rule not to compare first-position with other positions (except in some special cases). I need not, therefore, give any ratios here, though of

Anglo-Saxon.

1 long mod. 0 : 5 (Obj.); 7 : 6 (Obj. 4 : 5); 1 short mod. 3 : 1; — 1 long mod. —; 3 : 10 (Obj. 2 : 7);
2 long mod. — 2 : 8 (Obj. 1 : 6); 1 short 1 long mod. — 4 : 5 (D, pD 1 : 4) 2 long mod. 0 : 4; 0 : 14 (Obj. 0 : 6);
1 short 1 long mod. 0 : 8

Semi-Saxon.

course the number 20, when compared either with the numerous instances spoken of in the preceding paragraphs, or with the relatively frequent use of first-position, suggests a diminishing tendency as regards this position when the modifier is thus determined [1]). Even if this were not a fact, we can easily understand that the introductory member is far more suitable to its place in the sentence than the preverbal, or presubjectival modifiers to theirs, first-position, as well as end-position, implying a kind of emphasis (cf. p. 62).

As for the influence of a determining clause on the relative position of the modifiers, it manifests itself by promoting the gradation shown by tables 19, 20, when the clause belongs to the heaviest modifier; otherwise the exceptions increase. As for the first two non-introductory modifiers, I find, then, (including all kinds of clauses) among instances of the former kind only 25 Anglo-Saxon, 12 Semi-Saxon exceptions to more than 300, resp. 175 regular cases [2]). When the shorter modifier is determined, this keeps its place before the longer only in 50 Anglo-Saxon, 25 Semi-Saxon instances, but is drawn after the longer in 150, resp. 85 instances.

A third, fourth, etc., modifier when the shorter and determined by a clause, is drawn after the longer in about 70 Anglo-Saxon, 25 Semi-Saxon instances (including all kinds of clauses), but keeps its place before the latter only in a couple of Anglo-Saxon instances. There are plenty

[1]) That there are numerous instances where the introductory member is immediately followed by its clause, we know from pp. 58, 78.

[2]) The ratios 300 : 25 and 175 : 12 must be considered greater than the average ratio in tables 19—22. In about 70 Anglo-Saxon and 60 Semi-Saxon instances the modifier, though not the last member, is immediately followed by its clause, and mostly drawn after the finite verb (or subj.). In a few cases it is the longer modifier which thus precedes the shorter.

of cases where the longer modifier, when determined, is the last member, scarcely any where it is not; when the determining clause does not follow the last modifier, it belongs to a shorter, and is followed by a longer[1]).

From the above discussion on the position of a non-introductory modifier determined by a clause, it results that the clause, as a rule, comes after the last member (modifier), and that the modifier thus determined is drawn by this clause next before it. In a minority of instances the clause is attracted by the modifier and then placed next after it, or separated from it only by a verb. This separation may, of course, also occur when the clause keeps its end-position.

In short: *the emphasis caused by a determining clause predisposes the modifier and this clause to end-position* (proved also by the formation of conjunctions such as *đa đa*, *swa swa*, etc.). When this fact is put into connection with the result obtained in the preceding chapters, the rule may be formulated thus: *end-position is the position of long and emphasized modifiers when these are not introductory.*

The position of a long subj., or a dem. pron. when subj., and the clause determining it, is shown by the following scheme including only princ. declarative and sub. cl.; the figures in the parentheses are included in those preceding them[2]):

[1]) In the above numbers a few instances are not included, where the modifier is followed by a clause without being determined by it, some where a modifier is determined standing close to another of the same rhythmical value (e. g. pN pN). If two modifiers are each followed by such a clause, I have included the instance only when a preceding modifier is not determined in this way. In addition, there are some instances where the verb is followed by a clause without being the last member (cf. the following note).

[2]) I do not take into consideration instances where the subj. is repeated after the clause, nor the case of the clause being a mere intercalation after the subj. without determining it. Such intercalations may be made after any member, and are to be considered only long member-groups. They are, however, not included in my investigation, though the clauses in which they occur are.

A. The determining clause comes after the last member (= the subject itself, the predicate, or a modifier).

Direct order with intr. member

Anglo-S. 30 (6 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 4

Direct order without intr. member

Anglo-S. 55 princ., a number of sub. cl.
Semi-Saxon 32 (incl. some subj. cl.,

Inversion with intr. member

Anglo-S. 123 (18 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 77 (6 sub. cl.)

Inversion without intr. member

Anglo-S. 14 (3 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 9 (5 sub. cl.)

B. The determining clause follows immediately after the subj., and does not come last.

Direct order with intr. member

Anglo-S. 21 (1 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 4

Direct order without intr. member

Anglo-S. 107 (4 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 57

Inversion with intr. member

Anglo-S. 4 (1 sub. cl.) Semi-S. 3

Inversion without introd. member

Anglo S. 2 Semi-S. 1

In order to give only a few of the influences affecting the position of the subj., and thus to facilitate the survey, I have excluded instances with a pers. pron. as subj., some imperative clauses, a number of interrogative princ. cl., especially with *hwæt* as subj., clauses with *ne* before the finite verb (not *ne-ne*), and clauses with the introductory member separated from the subj. by a clause; altogether more than 100 inst., mostly with inversion and belonging to A (declarative clauses with pers. pron. as subj., especially when there are introductory members, the others when there are none). The *hwæt*-clauses have, of course, direct order, which occasionally occurs also in the other clauses (even those with *ne*).

From A, when compared with pp. 91, 102, 103, etc. we obtain the result that the subj. is not very much attracted by a determining clause. On the other hand, there is a marked difference between the ratios in A and those in B, insomuch as the superior inversion in A, with introductory members, is corresponded to in B by a superior direct order, and the prevailing direct order in A, without introductory member, becomes almost exclusive in B. This may partly depend on several instances in A having no modifiers after the verb. If, then, we scarcely perceive any influence of the determining clause when coming last, which is the most common arrangement, when there is an introductory member, we see in several (not always in the majority of examples) that the subj. exercises a certain attraction on the clause.

The clause takes end-position, or is preverbal; in the former case, the subj. acquires a very strong stress, so that it is mostly inverted (cf. p. 57); in the latter, the subj. is placed next before the determining clause (p. 58). The result will be three principal arrangements (beginning with the two most important): a) the subj. and the clause come

together after the last member, or the former is separated from the latter only by some modifier; b) the subj. and the clause come together before the verb; c) the emphasized subj. is not inverted, and the clause comes after the last member.

In other words: *the emphasis produced by the determining clause takes up its position at the end, or at the beginning of the antecedent, according to the sentence-balance*[1]). *More seldom does the emphasis take both places by placing the subj. before the verb, the clause at the end.*

We now plainly understand why a determining clause has a stronger influence on the modifier, when not introductory, than on the subj.: *first-position and end-position (especially, however, the latter) being reserved for emphasis, the modifier must be drawn towards the end of the clause, while the subj., even though not inverted, may keep its stress, as it then belongs to the beginning of the clause.*

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[1]) which, in this case, is more marked than otherwise in Anglo-Saxon (cf. p. 65).

Conclusion.

Having reduced the rules that are valid for the beginning of the clause into two rhythmical schemes, — ∪ — and ∪ ∪ — (p. 92), let us now ascertain whether the results obtained in Chapters IV—IX may also be changed into rhythmical laws.

From pp. 44, 45, 51, we know that the rhythmical law governing the relative position of the finite verb and its modifiers is not undeviating in Anglo-Saxon, but is broken by differentiation between clauses. Hence, if we wish to construct a scheme, we must look to princ. cl. for the position of the strongest modifiers, to the sub. cl. for that of other modifiers (cf. p. 150). We then obtain:

I strong subj. — fin. v. — strong mod. = ⊥ × ⊥, with a variety
strong subj. — strong mod. — fin. v. = ⊥ ⊥ × (in sub. cl.),
II strong subj. — fin. v. — weak mod. = ⊥ × ∪ (in princ. cl.),
III strong subj. — weak mod. — fin. v. = ⊥ ∪ ×́ (with II as a variety)
IV weak subj. — fin. v. — strong mod. = ∪ × ⊥ (with a variety, see note)
V weak subj. — weak mod. — fin. v. = ∪ ∪ ×́ (with a variety, see note).

If we compare the above schemes with those given p. 91, we at once find a complete rhythmical identity between each of them and each of the latter. Moreover, we must assign to II and the variety of I [1]) an inferiority of rank, as we did to the corresponding schemes in p. 91; for neither is the variety superior to I even in sub. cl., nor II superior to III in princ. cl. Consequently I—V may be reduced to the two head-types A ⊥ ∪ ⊥ and B ∪ ∪ ⊥ known from page 92.

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[1]) besides to weak subj. — strong m. — fin. v. = ∪ ⊥ ×, and to weak subj. — fin. v. — weak mod. = ∪ ×́ ∪.

As for the position of the modifier in clauses with inversion, we have found (pp. 165, 167) that the short subj. is always, the long one most often, followed by the modifier, this fact resulting in the schemes:

1) fin. v. — strong subj. — strong mod. = $\times \perp \perp$,
2) fin. v. — weak mod. — strong subj. = $\acute{\times} \cup \perp$, with a variety
fin. v. — strong subj. — weak mod. = $\times \perp \cup$,
3) fin. v. — weak subj. — strong mod. = $\acute{\times} \cup \perp$ (= 2)),
4) fin. v. — weak subj. — weak mod. = $\acute{\times} \cup \cup$.

These schemes are, it is true, not identical with those above, except 2) and 3), which are something like the schemes I and III. But then we must remember that inversion of a short subj. is rather rare, or serves other purposes than that of euphony (cf. p. 92). Besides, inversion in general is connective when without introductory modifiers (p. 112), or subject to disturbing influences when after one (see below), at all events inferior in frequency to direct order (cf. the tables p. 65 with tables 5—13).

In clauses without a subject the preverbal type is more frequent than otherwise; for the explanation of this fact, see p. 162[1]). We thus obtain two types: 5) fin. v. — strong mod. = $\times \perp$ with a variety: strong mod. — fin. v. = $\perp \times$ and 6) weak mod. — fin. v. = $\cup \acute{\times}$; 5) and 6) are modifications of the head-types A and B; 5) var., to be compared with a clause consisting only of a long subj. and a fin. v. In the two former the proclisis-rhythm, in the latter the enclisis-rhythm is to be found (= a modification of I var. and II).

When a clause contains more than one modifier, introductory or not, there must necessarily arise other modifica-

[1]) To these we might add rel. cl. belonging to Section III in tables 5—13; the rel. subj. plays the rôle of a conjunction (cf. p. 162).

tions of the head-types. An introd. m. and a strong. subj. give us the schemes a) $\perp \times \perp \perp$, b) $\cup \times \perp \perp$ c) $\perp \times \cup \perp$, and d) $\cup \overset{\sim}{\times} \cup \perp$ (i. e. intr. mod. + 1), 2) above, the long subj. being, as a rule, inverted) such a member and a weak subj., the schemes e) $\perp \cup \times \perp$, f) $\cup \cup \times \perp$, g) $\perp \cup \cup \overset{\prime}{\times}$, and h) $\cup \cup \cup \overset{\prime}{\times}$ (i. e. intr. mod. + IV, V above, the short subj. keeping its place before the fin. v.); of these, at least the first two are of the same nature as I and IV above, the others differ from them in increasing the number of the weak places by one. — The first two non-introd. modifiers combine with the subj. and the fin. v. in the following way (cf. pp. 148—150): princ. cl. with direct order: strong subj.: i) $\perp \times \perp \perp$, j) $\perp \times \cup \cup$, k) $\perp \times \cup \perp$; weak subj.: l) $\cup \times \perp \perp$, m) $\cup \overset{\prime}{\times} \cup \cup$, n) $\cup \overset{\prime}{\times} \cup \perp$; sub. cl. with direct order: strong subj. o) $\perp \times \perp \perp$, p) $\perp \cup \cup \overset{\prime}{\times}$, q) $\perp \cup \perp \times$; weak subj.: r) $\cup \times \perp \perp$, s) $\cup \cup \cup \overset{\prime}{\times}$, t) $\cup \cup \perp \times$; clauses with inversion and a long subj.: u) $\times \perp \perp \perp$, v) $\times \perp \cup \cup$? w) $\times \perp \cup$ —?; clauses with inversion and a short subj.: x) $\overset{\prime}{\times} \cup \perp \perp$, y) $\overset{\prime}{\times} \cup \cup \cup$, z) $\overset{\prime}{\times} \cup \cup \perp$; of these at least i), k), l), o), p), r), s) may be identified with a)—h); but even q), t), and x (cf. 2), 3)) have the first three places euphonically arranged, and z) is something like c), e), and g) above; the others resemble, as to their first two places, the schemes 5), with the variety, and 6). — When there are still more modifiers (introductory or not), their relative position acquires of itself a rhythmical arrangement (see below).

The above facts apply to Chapter IV. But the same remarks can, on the whole, be also made on Chapter V, the infinite verb being considered a long modifier (pp. 173, 174, 179): there is, however, some distinction between the infinitive and the past participle as to their position, the former being relatively more often postverbal than the latter (pp. 180,

188). This may depend on the infinitive being more often followed by its modifiers than is the past participle (see below)[1]).

In Chapter VII we note a relatively stronger preverbal position of the modifier with relation to the infinite verb than with relation to the finite. The past participle is more often met with following its modifier than the infinitive (p. 195). The reason is, in my opinion, that the former verb is sometimes still looked upon as a noun (proved by numerous cases of inflected past participles), the latter, generally as a pure verb, the more so, as the prepositional use of the verb was furnished by the gerund and the present participle (later on by the verbal abstract in-ing). — Chapter VI is an application of the rules given in Chapter VII (cf. p. 191).

In Chapter VIII I have found a rhythmical law to be valid for all kinds of clauses and all kinds of positions; most exceptions, however, are to be found in the preverbal position (p. 212). This implies the rhythm $\perp \cup \acute{\times}$ being preferred to $\perp \times \cup$ and $\times \perp \cup$ not only in the case of a long and a short modifier (a fact in harmony with the law of end-position being emphatic, p. 238 and below); but also in the case of two long (or two short) modifiers, on account of the gradation as to stress existing between different kinds

[1]) Here we should compare the unconditionally synthetic construction in German when the infinite verb precedes a substantive head-word, the fluctuation when it follows it; the choice in Swedish between a synthetic construction in the former case and an analytic in the latter; the unconditionally analytic construction in Modern English and Modern French with an infinite verb following its head-word. The cause of the two constructions being carried out strictly (i. e. either mod. — inf. v. — head-word, or head-word — inf. v. — mod.) seems to be of a purely syntactical nature, the intermediate link, being at the same time head-word and modifier, coming between the other members in both constructions.

of long modifiers (and different kinds of short ones). When there are more than two modifiers the arrangement is mostly ascending from a weaker to a stronger (p. 216).

In Chapter IX I have found some groups of cases confirming the theory of first-position and end-position as emphatic, proved by the preceding chapters in general. We see, then, that *even the clause, as a whole, shows one of the two head-types A or B valid for a sequence of three members: clauses with strong introd. m., or beginning with a long subj., belonging to A; those with weak introd. m. or beginning with a weak subj., belonging to B*[1]).

This rule may be considered a complement to that given by Ries, who set down the beginning of the clause as rhythmically ascending. His explanation of the less frequent inversion after a long expression is essentially the same as that given p. 119. But having found inversion to be exclusive in inserted clauses (cf. p. 107), he supposes such clauses to be so inferior in stress as not to disturb the rhythm by their inversion, this order being recommended by the relative importance of the verb in such clauses (and its logical connection with the preceding words).

The whole of my investigation tends to prove that in Anglo-Saxon the rhythmical principle, as governing word-order, is decidedly more important than the syntactical.

Let us take a rapid survey of the development of word-order in the English language.

I have proved the existence of a sentence-balance (pp. 59, 66, 71) scarcely to be found in Anglo-Saxon, and different

[1]) It is possible that B is sometimes little different from A, the (first) in-trod. m. implying some emphasis.

in princ. and sub. clauses. This *sentence-balance* seems to have played a rôle in the development of the language in the following manner: first-position being originally created by connection (psychological consideration) was at one time looked upon as a convenient way of getting rid of one modifier, or more, within, or at the end of the clause when there were too many of them. Later, the postverbal position, brought in by the *principle of rhythm* and *syntactical analogy*, was still more promoted by introd. members. Hence the greater frequency of postsubjectival than of postverbal modifiers, and the greater frequency of postverbal modifiers in princ. than in sub. cl.: first-position being relatively more often met with in clauses with inversion, most rarely in sub. cl. with direct order. Adding the *differentiation between clauses*, we have four agencies, partly co-operating with, partly succeeding one another, which led to the postverbal position being almost universally adopted in Modern English (cf. pp. 170, 219).

First-position may at first also have promoted inversion, creating a new consideration, the *rhythmical*, for the arrangement at the beginning of the clause (while the connection with the preceding clause must have been the original one; still rather vigorous in Anglo-Saxon; cf. p. 112). But in clauses with other modifiers than introductory, the euphonic types became modified (p. 240); on the other hand, postverbal strong modifiers have somewhat checked inversion (p. 81; this is also the case in Modern French): the result being that Modern English has, in most cases, direct order in declarative clauses. — From a practical point of view, distinctness[1]), the inconvenience of placing

[1]) In Swedish the case is quite the opposite, the direct order there being used in sub. clauses, consequently also after an adverbial or prepositional phrase with the relative or conjunctional word left

the inverted subj. next to a modifier is in modern language mostly avoided by the aid of the circumlocution with *do* (cf. below): 'No sooner did he (the man) utter the word', etc.

In which cases has Modern English retained the old rhythmical principle? In some cases regarding the relative position of the subj. and the fin. v. (e. g. after a dem. adv.[1]) or a pred. complement as introd. m.; cf. also: 'he is rich, and so is shé', 'he is thought to be rich, and so he ís'), and that of the fin. v. or subj. and the modifier (the presubjectival type must be considered completely discarded; except *not*). The enclisis-rhythm is now in many cases euphonic as well as the proclisis-rhythm. As for the relative position of the modifiers, we still find the old rhythmical law active (cf. pp. 217 et seq.).

The analytical character of Modern English need not necessarily have its source in French: at most, French influences may have promoted the change that took place. In some respects, however, French is more behindhand than English in the development of the analytic word-order, e. g. in respect to the position of the personal pron.; in others, it is before, e. g. as regards the place of the adverbs of indef. time. Anglo-Saxon shows so many other signs of being more advanced in the demolition of the old synthetic system that we must not wonder at Modern English having made its own way to the present analysis.

A priori, one would feel inclined to believe that this analytic character would imply a uniform word-order. But even on this point Modern English differs from Modern

---

out: 'så ofta han kommer', 'den dagen han kom'. In English, where the conjunctional word cannot be left out, the direct order cannot give rise to misunderstanding.

[1]) note the conditional inversion after *then* in Modern English, the unconditional after *þonne* in Anglo-Saxon.

French. There are still many questions to be answered in English word-order and interesting comparisons to be made with other Teutonic languages which cannot, however, be done before we know more about the development of Middle English. Having already begun my inquiries into the word-order of this stage, I hope in some near future to be able to demonstrate the results thereof.

Errata. Addenda.

P. 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 51, 75, 104, 130, 134, «Knight», read: «McKnight».

» 41 l. 4 from foot: «nouns, verbs, and other adverbs», read: «nouns and other adverbs», etc.

» 49 l. 17 from foot: «this order?» read: »the postverbal order?»

» 59 l. 8 from foot: «at four o'clock he arrived»; I think we had better say: »he arrived at four o'lock» or «at four o'clock he arrived with his family».

» 61 l. 11 from foot: »belong to a)», read: «belong to a) — c)».

» 70 ll. 2—4: read here: »Now the other positions in f) are somewhat inferior to those in a) but not so much as to correspond with the inferiority of first position in f) to that in a)».

» 74 l. 7 from foot: «implied in the clauses themselves»; read: «implied in the rel., interr., or conjunctional word».

» 83 l. 16: «P, D and D» read P, D, and pD».

» 90 ll. 15, 14 from foot: read here: «Other members may be as intimately connected with the verb but are not so strong as to stress.»

» 92 l. 1: read: «In spite of this, postverbal modifiers somewhat prevent» etc.

» 92 the schemes $\perp \cup \acute{\times} \perp$, $\perp \acute{\times} \cup \perp$ ought to be: $\perp \cup \times \perp$, $\perp \times \cup \perp$; ll. 18—16 from foot, read: «We at once perceive what $\perp \times \perp$ and $\perp \cup \acute{\times}$ have in common: the two accentuated places», etc.

» 102 l. 11 from foot: «*C. Clauses*» etc. ought to be in the same types as A and B pp. 77, 93.

» 103 l. 7 from foot: «(p. 77).» read: «(p. 91)».

» 116 l. 8 »un« read: «nu«.

» 121 l. 3 from foot: «this latter series» read: «the former series».

» 122 l. 3 from foot: «10:26, 8:45» read: «10:27, 8:44».

P. 126 l. 5: «I count 24» read: «I count 26».

» 127 add to the last line: «mod. + signifies modifier separated by a clause from the following members».

» 130 l. 13 from foot: «⌒ — ∪ (⌒),» read: «⌒ ∪ ∪ (⌒)».

» ll. 9, 8 from foot: «is more often inverted than the other», read: »is so often inverted».

» 131 l. 11 from foot: add to this line: «when standing between — and ∪, × should be looked upon as a weak place».

» 133 l. 2 from foot: «2) the latter» etc. read: «2) The latter» etc.

» 139 read: **I. Clauses with direct order or without a subject.**

» 155 l. 14: add to this line: preverbal = both pron. (noun) and prep. precede the verb, circumverbal = the pron. (noun) precedes, the prep. follows, the verb.

» 156 l. 14, 13 from foot «representatives» read: »representative ones».

» 217 l. 10. add:» however, only when two *full* clauses are connected; otherwise a rel. word ought to be used.

» 228 l. 12 from foot: «general rules.» add: «the longer modifier being that one emphasized.

» 231 l. 10, 233 l. 9 «direct order» add: «or without a subj.»

» 239 last line: add: «We now understand why the influence of the introd. modifier or the subject in clauses with direct order is so very doubtfull (cf pp 80, 145, 241). The statistics collected by Ries scarcely prove any decided influence of the subj. That, in clauses with inversion, it is the pers. pron. when a subj. which is exclusively followed by the modifiers, is sufficiently stated by my investigation. In his statistics Ries has made no allowance for the nature of the modifiers, which causes his statement to lose its value. He may be right in his supposition that the conjunctional word in sub. clauses ought to be reckoned with, but if so, we shall have to take into consideration co-ordinate conjunctions as well, and let them count in the rhythm.

241 l. 10 from foot: add: «It is to be noted that the schemes u) — z) being less euphonic than the others are the most uncommon (cf. p. 240).

» 244 l. 2: add «(for another kind of sentence-balance, see pp. 219, 220 b).

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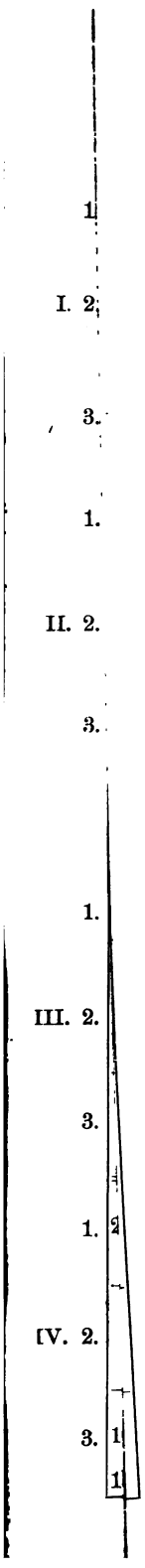
1
I. 2
3.
1.
II. 2.
3.
1.
III. 2.
3.
1. 2
IV. 2.
3. 1
1

TABLE 5. Clauses

		Adv. of indef. t.			Modal. adv.				Local adv.						Boe	Ma	
		Boe	AG	Wu	Boe	AG	Wu	7	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7	Boe	Ma	A
	1.						12								1	2	
							4								17	55 (7)	49
				6	10		5	4		5		3		3	(5) 16	10	
				2	1		6	1				3		4	(1) 40	10	
I.	2.														57	32 (23)	334
															36	3 (2)	
															97	9 (5)	18
	3.						5								9		
				5	6										7		
				2	6										22		
					2	15	2				7				1	3	
	1.		5		13	6	6				5				37	48 (7)	70
		14		5	19		5	3	5			5		5	46 (8)	30 (3)	4
			5	3	3		2	3	1					3	62	30 (10)	32
															2		
II.	2.	5		4	10		16		5						47	36	35
				1	4		1		1					5	105 (5)	13 (5)	2
															132	28 (5)	28
	3.				6										4		
		9			8	1	2								23	9	8
		1			10	4	4	6							23	2	
															55	7	
	1.												3		5		6
													2		33	23	10
																23	21
III.	2.														1		
				5											61	16 (32)	193
				1											60	10	3
															17	11	31
	3.																
															10	1	
															6	5	12
	1.						11	2						4	9	7	
							2	3						4	19	44	23
				4	5		13	10							18	8	
				1			4	2							8	9	
															3		2
IV.	2.														8	6 (5)	42
															17		
															11		5
	3.																
															4		
															1		

one long modifier.

. , Pr.						Adverb. C.						pN.											
Wu		1		7		Boe	Wu	Boe		Ma		AG		Wu		1		7					
5	(6)			2				1					(2)	3	(1)	1	(3)	1					
29	(3)	31	(18)	40	(5 10")			13		19		58	(3)	24	(8)	15	(13)	28	(6")				
37	(1)	3		8	(1 1")	2	1	14		5	(2)		(9)	23	(4)			5					
31	(4 6")	7		14	(4 4"	3	4	36		22	(14)	8	(4)	42	(4)	28		26					
								8															
73		13	(10)	49	(4 9")			3				8		8		6		11					
12		4		2	(1")			7		2				1									
29	(10")	10	(17 5")	24	(5")			16		4				7		5	(12)						
9		6	(11)	17				11		9		5				11	(7)	11					
6		2						2					(1)	6									
10		14		8	(8")			29		11		8	(9)	18		6		8					
4	(3)	1	(1)									1		1									
45	(9)	21	(24)	20				13		23		35	(7")	42	(6)	19	(8)	22	(7")				
61	(4 2")	6	(11)	32	(2 7")	2	3	14		7	(3)	3	(2)	38	(5 1")	5	(1")	8					
31	(5 3")	27	(13)	36	(3 4")	3	3	24		35	(4)	9	(4 6")	24	(14 4")	23	(6 8")	29					
										8													
38	(8)	25	(18)	21	(5")			8				15		9		18		7					
64	(12)	4	(13)	15	(9 3")			13				2	(4)	9		2		7					
48	(3)	28	(18)	44	(3")			17				5	(3)	5		8		7					
35		25	(10)	16				15				5		17		21	(9)	9					
28	(3)		(2)	2				13		10		1		13		2	(1)	2	(1")				
37	(9)	24	(9)	28				29		12		4		33		29	(10)	20	(5")				
		6										9		5									
65	(6")	6	(10 3")	17	(2)			5	(4)	12		9	(7)	19		1	(4)	7					
30	(2")	17	(6 3")	21	(7)			2	(1)	10		29		1		12	(2)	18	(6)				
49		16	(1) (2 2)	47	(8 9")			7						15		5		7					
42	(2)	3	(2 1")	4	(3)			5		21			(9)	15		1	(3)	1					
33	(3)	11	(9 8")	54	(2)			3		5			(4)	2		11	(4)	8					
								5		5													
14		1		3				10		1		1		14			(1)						
10		9		19				5		15	(10)	12		5	(6)	10	(11)	10					
11	(2)	3	(8)	6				3		3	(1)	1		8	(5)		(2)	2					
6	(11)	15	(10)	38				8		30	(4)	9		9	(12)		(8)	21					
59				26	(8")			8		2				10		1		3					
10				20	(3")			12		9				10		4		8					
		6		12																			
4		6	(9)	3																			
4		7	(3)	13																			
		7																3					
																		4					
				5				1 5															

TABLE 6. Clauses with one short mod

		P					D			Conj. ad.		Other adv.				
	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7	Boe	Ma	Wu	Boe	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	
1.	5 16	8 1 23 1	(4') (2')	6(5) 27(4) 3(2)	8 22(4 4') (1 2')	11(5 4 20 4	(19) (15)	 12	 4 (9) 1		 18	 (5) (1)	12	 34 1	 	1
I. 2.														4 1		
3.				9	8 1									5		
1.	29 55	45 59 29 5	11 17 (3') (2')	23(4) 7(3) 47(7) (1)	12 3 (5') 19 (5) 4	8 23(5') 2	2 4 8 2	1 4 	 9 1	22	3 13 82 1	4 9 	42 11 	4 3 58(5) 3	 16(5) 1	2
II. 2.	8										30			22 2		
3.	4 4 27 1		(4) (1)	3 3(5') 14 6	 7 4 3	3 4 8 2	 7 1	 	 		5 13 12	 	7 	 11 2	 6	
1.	20	20		19(5)	10 (4') 2 (1')	18			9					8	10	
III. 2.											7					
3.	14			12		7 1			6 1							
1.	 12 1	12 21 4 5	9 1	5 3 5 2	(4) (1)	 11					36 6	28 2		5 (6) 3	7 1	
IV. 2.																
3.																

lifier.

pP.

7	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7
		1 5		1 4		
1 1	1 5	1 4		3 2	1 5	
4 1 8 (6) 4	11 3	11		7 6	3 5	4 3
				4 4		
		2 3	6	9	5	4 2
	11	4 2		10		
		6 1				
1 (5') 4 (1") 8 1		7 16		(6) (1) 6		3 6

TABLE 7. Clauses with two short modifiers.

		P-Adv.			Adv.-Adv.	
		Boe	Wu	7	Boe	Wu
	1.	1 8 33 1	10	4 1	8 1 2	
II.	2.					5 1 1
	3.	4 1				

TABLE 8. Clauses with the first two modifiers short.

		P-Adv.	
		Boe	Wu
	1.	1 3 1 11 3	
II.			
	3.	10 5	
III.	1.	5	6
IV.	1.		3 1 1

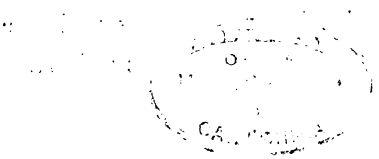

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TABLE 12. Clauses with one of the first two modifiers short, the other long.

		P	Adv.	P	Obj.	P	Pr.	P	pN			Adv. Adv.	Adv. Obj.	Adv. Pr.	Adv.	pN	Mod. O adv.
		Boe	Wu	Wu		7		Boe	Wu	1	7	Wu	Boe	Wu	Boe	Wu	
I.	1.		1 1 6										4 1				
II.	1.	13 2	4 2	6 1								4 2		1 3 2 5 1 1	3 2	1 1 3 11 2 3	
III.	3.	5 2 1		(1) (1) (3)		2 3	12 1						1 6	8 4 1		7	
III.	1.													4 1			
III.	2.													5 1		3 3	
IV.	1.		3 1 2 3 3		1 4		8 1		1 4	1 4 1		4 1 6		4 2		6 1	

		Mod. O adv.
I.		8 11
II.	3 12	1 21 4 14
III.		2 3
IV.		2 6

Subordinate clauses with a dem. or short indefin. pron. as subj. are cl

In clauses with more than two modifiers only the first two are inclu preverbal, too, but generally they are postverbal (see p. 150). 'Preverbal', the into consideration.

TABLE 13. Clauses with a stress-verb and an infin. verb.

Obj.	pN	P	Sh. adv. (not conj.)	Obj.	Obj. pN	P	Sh. adv.	P Obj.	P	pN	Sh. adv. Obj.	Obj. pN+ other m.	P	L. adv.+ other mod.	P Obj.+ other m.
		2 4													
6			5												
		4	1												
5		4	4												
1															
4															
		7													
		6	10												
		1													
		4													

The numbers of the different texts are added together.

	Obj.	pN	P	Sh. adv. (not conj.)	Obj.	Obj. pN	P	Sh. adv.	P Obj.	P	pN	Sh. adv. Obj.	Obj. pN+ other m.	P	L. adv.+ other mod.	P Obj.+ other m.
I.			2 4													
	6			5												
			4	1												
	5		4	4												
	1															
	4															
II.					6	10			2			1				
					2				3			4				
					7	19			2	4						
									3	2						
III.			7													
			6	10												
			1			2										
			4			4										
I.													5	3		1
					1	6								2		4
					6	1										
II.											1		8			
											4					
													1			
IV.													4			

assed in II (they are but few, however).
ded in the positions preverbal, circumverbal, postverbal. The following may be
refore, implies here in most cases 'circumverbal' when all modifiers are taken

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with two short modifiers (+more modifiers).

	P pP	P pD	D Adv.	Adv. Adv.	Adv. pP	Adv. pD
1 p	—1 p— — —1 ti	——1i	—1 p 1p' 1g'—2i	1 i— —3 i 1 p 1p' 1 p 2 pr *1 pr*	—1 p— ——1i 1 i'	——1i 1 p 2 p— —
3 i 1 p 1i	1 i— —1 i 1 pr— —1i	1i— —	— —1 p	6 p—1 i 2 i' 1 p—1i' 1 i *1 i* 1 p —1 p—1 i 1 i' 1 i—1 p—	1 i 1p— —	—1 p—
				—1 p—1 p	— —1 g 1 i— —	1 p— —
	— —1 i 1 i— —	—1 i—	— —1 i	— —1 p		— —3 i
	—1 i—	—1 i—		— — *1 p'*	——1i' 2p	

iers).

Adv. Adv.	Adv. Obj. , Adv. Pr.,
i—2 i 1 i' *1 i* 1:p 2 g 1 g' —1 i 1 i' —1 i —	—1 i 1 i' 1 p'—2 i 3 i' 3 i *2 i* 3 p 4 p' 1 p *1 p 1 g'* — —4 i 2 i' *2 i* 1 p 1 p' — —1 i 3 i' —1 i—
I. 2 p' 2:p—1 i' 1 i—3 i 2 i' 1 p' 1 p — —1 i 1 i' p 1.p— — *1 i'*	2 i 35 p 1:p 1.p 1 pr—6 i 2 i *1 i* 1 p 2 p' 1 p—8 i 1 p 1 p 1 g 1 g' —4 i 2 i'—5 i 1 i' 2 p' 1 pr' 1 i—4 i 1 i' 1 p'—
—2 i —1 p'—	— — (1 i)— 1 p'—
	—1 i 1 p' 1 g' —1 i 1 i' —1 i —
— —1 i	—1 g'—2 i 2 p' —2 i —1 i 1 p — —1 i 1 i'
II. —1 i—2 i 2 p — — 1 i' 1 p — — 1 p 1 p' — —	—1 i—1 i 1 ti 2 p — —1 i 2 i' 1 p — — 1 p —1 i—
—2 pr— —	—1 p—1 i' — —1 i

pD Adv.	pD Obj. (Pr.)	pD Adv. C.	pD pN
p—1 i 1 p	—1 i—		— —1 p — —1 p
— — —1 i—	—1 i— — —2 i — —2 i — —1 i	—1 p'	— —1 i
—1 p—	— —1 i		
	— — *1 ti'* — —1 i		— —1 p

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TABLE 19. Princ. declarative and sub. clauses: two long

	Adv. Adv.				Adv. Obj.							Adv. pN				
	Boe	Wu	1	7	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7		Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1
2.	11	2		4	36	4	2 (2)	37	(2 4')	8		14		4	25	(3
		3		1	18		2 (2)	91	5 (2)	10		3			27	(1
3.					34	5	6	27	14 (9')	18	(6)	26		5	27	13(5
					2			25	1 (1')	3		1		1	9	(4
4.			4	4	31	7	27 (2)	39	10 (8 9')	21	(5)	10	6 (6)	10	29	6 (
			1	1	4	2	8 (5)	25	4 (4 6')	13	(1)	2	(1)		2	1 (
5.															6	
															1	
6.								4				4			6	
															1	
7.					9			7	5	3					6	6
					1			4		1					3	1
8.	3	3			5			12		4		4			5	
	2	2			3			9		1		1			6	
9.					5			3				4				
					1			1								
10.					7		1	3	3	9		(14) 6		10	7	6
					1		3	2	1	1		2		1		

	Obj. pN						Obj. Adv. C.				Adv. C		
	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7	Boe	Wu	1	7	Boe	Ma	AG
2.	(3) 17	5 (2)	(3)	45 (6)	(2 3')	4	2	1					
	(2) 12	3 (2)	(2)	57 (3)	8 (5 4')	7	4	5					
3.	(8) 38	8 (4)	6 (3)	61 (4)	9 (14 11')	12 (6')	13	8			7	(4)	
	9	2	3 (2)	22 (3)	7 (11 10')	19 (8')	5	4			1		
4.	(4) 98	82 (26)	23 (6)	110 (13)	65 (57 18')	94 (3 20')	2	5	2		3		
	(2) 21	11 (2)	25 (6)	40 (1)	14 (12 8')	22 (2 4')	3	2	2		2		
5.				1									
				3									
6.													
7.	11	12	13	15	10 (6)	6							
	2	2	1	9		1							
8.	1			9	3	2		2					
	4			10	2	5		2					
9.	2			15									
	4			2									
10.	(5) 10	6 (2)	16	13	(3 5')	27 (4')				17		(7)	9
	(5)	(2)	6	4	(1)	3 (1')		5					

non-introductory modifiers.

		Obj. Obj.					
7	Boe	Ma	AG	Wu	1	7	
3) 2	7			14			
1) 5 (4')	1			2			
11') 22	12			12	3	(4 1')	7
1') 1	3			4	2	(2 3')	
38) 17	24	6 (2)	4	22 (2)	4	(13 5')	8 (2')
32) 4	7	8 (2)	1	5 (2)	1	(2 3')	12 (3')
5					2		
1					4		
	3			3			
	3			1			
(5') 13	10	4			(9)	7	
(2') 2					(1)	1	

C. pN

Wu	1	7
4		
3		
1		
4 3		5
5 4		2
7		20
		1

TABLE 20. Princ. declarative and sub. clauses: two short non-introductory modifiers.

	P Adv.					P pP		Adv. Adv.				Adv. pP
	Boe	Ma	Wu	1	7	Ma	7	Boe	AG	Wu	7	Boe
2.	48		32 (4)	7	14 (3')	4		17		15(4)	6	3
	2		1	2	4 (1')							1
3.	17	4		4	4							
		1			1							
4.		6		5 (10')	7	4	5	5				
7.	7											
8.	5											
10.									18			

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TABLE 22. Princ. declarative and sub. clauses: introduc

| | A. | | |

tory modifiers and more than two non-introductory modifiers.

| | | |

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